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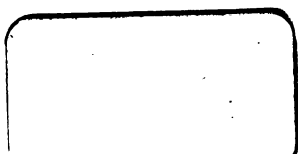
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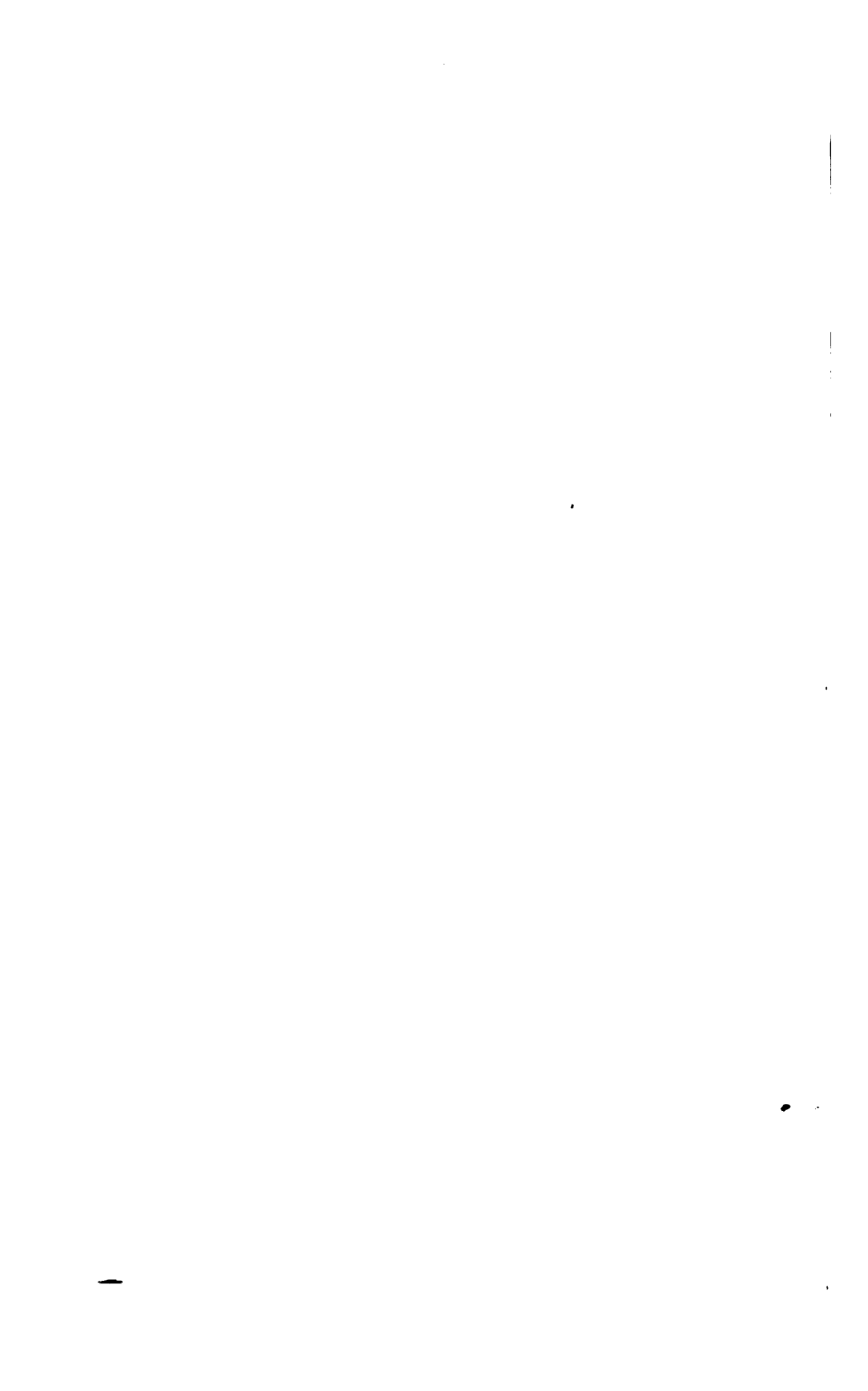
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THE
HISTORY
OF 343-80
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE
FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

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SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK IV.

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*The civil and military history of Great Britain,
from the death of king John, A. D. 1216, to
the accession of Henry IV. A. D. 1399.*

SECTION I.

*From the death of king John, A. D. 1216, to the
death of Henry III. A. D. 1272.*

THE death of king John was very season-
able, and saved both his family and his
country from the ruin with which they
were threatened, by the confederacy of the re-
volted barons of England with prince Lewis of
France.

A. D. 1216.

Death of
king John
seasonable.

VOL. VII.

B

William,

A.D. 1216.

Corona-
tion of
Henry III.

Earl of
Pembroke
appointed
protector.

Popular
measures
of the pro-
tector.

William, marshal of England, and earl of Pembroke, the chief support and ornament of the royal cause, conducted young Henry, eldest son of the late king, to Gloucester, where he had called a meeting of the nobles; and placing the infant prince (then only in his tenth year) in the midst of the assembly, he addressed them in a speech, at once so full of wisdom, loyalty, and patriotism, that it gained every heart. All the barons and clergy who were present, acknowledged Henry for their lawful king, and proceeded to his coronation on the 28th of October¹. In another assembly of the barons, at Bristol, on the 11th of November, the earl of Pembroke was unanimously chosen protector of the kingdom; a trust which he had well deserved, and which he discharged with the greatest honour, wisdom, and success².

One of the first acts of the protector's administration was to renew the great charter of liberties, the darling object on which the English had set their hearts; a wise measure which brought great popularity to the royal cause³. At the same time he wrote letters to all the discontented barons, earnestly intreating them to submit to the government of young Henry, against whom they could have no complaint, solemnly promising them indemnity for all past offences, and all pos-

¹ M. Paris, p. 200. Heming. l. 3. c. 1.

² M. Paris, p. 200. Chron. Petriburgen. Trivit. p. 168.

³ Blackstone's Introduction to the great charter, p. 43.

sible security for the future enjoyment of their liberties, honours, and estates⁴. These letters produced a great effect. Several powerful barons, as the earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, with the protector's eldest son, deserted Lewis, and came over to Henry; and many others waited only for a convenient opportunity to follow their example⁵. A.D. 1216.

While these things were doing in the cabinet, the war was going on in the field with various success; but without any decisive action. Lewis failed in all his attempts upon Dover, through the incorruptible fidelity and invincible resolution of Hubert de Burgh, its heroic governor⁶. In the beginning of the year 1217, Lewis received a considerable reinforcement from France, which, together with the citizens of London (who still warmly espoused his cause against their native prince), enabled him for some time to maintain the dispute. At length, on the 19th May A.D. 1217, a decisive battle was fought in the streets of Lincoln, in which the army of prince Lewis was entirely defeated, the earl of Perche, its commander in chief, was killed, and many of the English barons of that party were taken prisoners⁷. On the news of this defeat, prince Lewis, who was then besieging Dover, hastened to London; but some reinforcements which he expected being A.D. 1217.
Military transactions.

Peace between Henry and Prince Lewis.

⁴ Rymer, vol. 1. p. 215, 216. Brady, Append. No 143.

⁵ M. Paris, p. 202.

⁶ Id. p. 200.

⁷ Id. p. 204. Chron. Duff. p. 81.

A.D. 1217. destroyed by the English fleet, and the royal army approaching, he entered into a negotiation with the protector, which soon terminated in a peace⁸. By this peace, Lewis, having stipulated for a full indemnity to the English of his party, renounced his pretensions to the crown of England; and soon after departed with all his forces into France. In this manner, by the courage, wisdom, and moderation of the protector, the flames of a destructive civil war were happily extinguished, and young Henry was seated in peace on the throne of his ancestors.

Death of
the protec-
tor, and
succession
of Peter
de Roches
and Hubert
de Burgh.

After the departure of the French, the protector faithfully performed every article of the treaty with the English barons, by putting them in full possession of their estates and honours⁹. He sent itinerant judges into all parts of the kingdom, to see that the great charter, and the charter of the forests, were fully executed. In a word, he omitted nothing that might contribute to the true honour of his royal master, and to the peace and prosperity of his country. But while this great and good man was thus nobly employed, he was carried off by death about the middle of March A.D. 1219, to the unspeakable loss both of the king and kingdom. He was succeeded in the regency by Peter de Roches bishop of Winchester, a Poictiven, and Hubert de Burgh, high justiciary¹⁰.

⁸ Rymer, vol. 1. p. 221. M. Paris, p. 210.

⁹ M. Paris, p. 210. Annal. Waverlien. p. 284.

¹⁰ Chron. T. Wikes, p. 39. M. Paris, p. 210.

One of the worst consequences of the late civil wars was, that they greatly increased the lawless licentious spirit of many of the great barons, who were little better than great robbers; and the mutinous disposition of the citizens of London, who were still very much disaffected to the present government. The new regents employed the three first years of their administration in reducing the earl of Albemarle, and some other turbulent barons, to order, and in quelling and punishing some dangerous mutinies of the Londoners. In doing this they exercised some acts of power and severity, by which they gave great offence; particularly, by commanding one Constantine, an audacious incendiary, and some other ringleaders of the London mob, to be hanged without a formal trial¹¹.

A.D. 1119.

Conduct
of the new
regents.

Hubert de Burgh, who had the chief direction of affairs, thought it would diminish the general odium which his great power, and the spirited exertion of it, had drawn upon him, to have the king, who was now in his sixteenth year, declared of age. He therefore obtained a bull from the pope (who was still considered as superior lord of the kingdom), declaring Henry of age, and commanding all the barons to deliver up the royal castles, which they held, into the king's hands¹².

A.D. 1223.

Henry de-
clared of
age.

The high judiciary set an example of obedience to this bull, by giving up the tower of London,

Refractory
barons re-
duced.

¹¹ M. Paris, p. 214. 218. Chron. Dunst. p. 129. Annal. Waverlien. p. 187.

¹² M. Paris, p. 220. Trivit. p. 174.

A.D. 1153. and Dover castle, two royal fortresses, which had been committed to his custody during the king's minority. But this was an example which many of the barons did not incline to follow. The earls of Chester and Albemarle, and several others, refused to give up the royal castles which were in their custody, raised forces to support their refusal, and the nation was threatened with another civil war; which was happily prevented by the interposition of the archbishop of Canterbury, who, by threatening the refractory barons with excommunication, brought them to submit ¹³.

A.D. 1124.
War with
France
concluded
by a truce.

Some events had lately happened in France, which engaged the attention of Henry and his ministers, particularly the death of Philip Augustus, and the succession of his son Lewis. That prince had engaged, by a secret article in the treaty which he made with Henry at his departure out of England (as some of our historians affirm), to restore Normandy at his accession to the crown of France ¹⁴. Ambassadors were sent to demand the performance of this article; but Lewis was so far from complying with this demand, that he raised an army, with which he fell into the province of Poitou, which still belonged to England, took several places of strength, and at last the city of Rochelle, the capital of the province ¹⁵. On the news of these losses, Henry called a parliament at Westminster, from which he requested an

¹³ M. Paris, p. 221. Chron. Dunst. p. 138.

¹⁴ M. Paris, p. 227.

¹⁵ Rymer, vol. 1, p. 269.

aid to enable him to put a stop to the progress of the French arms, which threatened the total expulsion of the English from the continent. The parliament at first shewed no great disposition to comply with this request; but upon the king's consenting to confirm the charters of their liberties, they granted him a fifteenth of all the moveables both of the clergy and laity¹⁶. With this money the king raised a considerable army, which he sent into France, under the command of his brother prince Richard earl of Poictou and Cornwall, and the earl of Salisbury. These generals having landed with an army at Bourdeaux, A. D. 1225, recovered some places, and, in A. D. 1227, brought the king of France to consent to a truce for three years¹⁷. By this means peace was restored both at home and abroad.

Henry, in a parliament held at Oxford in February A. D. 1227, was declared of full age for government, and the regent, Hubert de Burgh, divested of his office; but still retaining the favour of the king, he was made earl of Kent¹⁸.

A violent quarrel broke out this year between king Henry and his brother Richard earl of Cornwall. Richard had seized a manor belonging to one Walleran, affirming it belonged to his earldom of Cornwall; and when the king commanded him to restore it to its former owner, he refused to obey; and forming a confederacy with several great

¹⁶ M. Paris, p. 213. Rymer, vol. 1. p. 277.

¹⁷ Rymer, vol. 1. p. 294. 295. ¹⁸ M. Paris, p. 238.

A.D. 1128. barons, raised a powerful army. The king being quite unprepared to resist so great a force, and knowing his brother's covetous disposition, entered into a negotiation with him, and gained him over by a grant of lands of much greater value than those in question. The confederates being thus deprived of their head, were obliged to dismiss their forces, and remain quiet¹⁹.

A.D. 1229.
Expedition
to the
continent.

Lewis VIII. of France, after a very short reign, was now dead; and having been succeeded by an infant son, that kingdom became a scene of great confusion, and presented Henry with a favourable opportunity of recovering his French dominions. The Normans even importuned him to come over with an army, and promised to receive him with open arms²⁰. But Henry being engaged in trifling disputes with his English subjects, neglected this favourable opportunity. At length, however, when the troubles in France were composed, and queen Blench established in the regency, Henry, very unseasonably resolved to make a vigorous attempt for the recovery of these dominions. But this attempt was as ill conducted as it was ill timed. In the year 1229, Henry summoned all his military tenants, both in England and Ireland, to attend him at Portsmouth on Michaelmas day, in order to embark for France. In consequence of this summons, a very numerous and gallant army appeared at the time and place appointed; but such was the negligence or treachery of Henry's ministers, that sufficient

¹⁹ M, Paris, p. 233.

²⁰ Id. p. 243.

numbers of ships were not provided for their transportation. This occasioned the expedition to be delayed. Henry having spent the winter in raising money by very illegal and oppressive methods, reassembled his army in the spring, and on the last day of April A.D. 1230, he embarked for France, and in a few days arrived at St. Malo's. The arrival of the English army revived the spirits of the malecontents in France; the duke of Brittany joined the English, with all his forces; and every thing wore a promising aspect. But all these blooming hopes were blasted by the misconduct of Henry, who spent the whole campaign without any action of moment, in a continued course of expensive pleasures; so that many of the poorer knights were obliged to sell their horses and arms to defray their expences. About the end of October, Henry returned to England, covered with disgrace²¹. A.D. 1229.

The history of England for some years after this, consists of little else, but some court-intrigues, and violent contests for power, between the bishop of Winchester and the high justiciary. The late miscarriages abroad had rendered the ministry of Hubert de Burgh exceedingly odious, both to the nobility and common people. The king, who was naturally fickle, being teased with continual complaints against his minister, began to withdraw his affection from him; which being observed by his enemies, they redoubled their Fall of
Hubert de
Burgh.
A.D. 1232.

²¹ M. Paris, p. 249. 251, 252. Annal. Waverlien, p. 192.

clamours

A.D. 1232.

clamours against him, and at last wrought his downfall²². Hubert was removed from his place of high justiciary, though it had been granted him for life; and he was commanded to give an account of the disposal of the revenues of the crown during his administration. The fallen minister, perceiving his ruin was resolved upon, and even his life in danger, took sanctuary in the priory of Merton; from whence the king commanded the mayor of London to bring him either dead or alive. The mayor and citizens of London, to whom Hubert had always been peculiarly odious, were preparing to execute these orders with great pleasure, and had assembled to the number of twenty thousand for that purpose; when some of the most prudent barons representing to the king the danger of such tumultuary proceedings, and of committing the execution of justice to an enraged mob, he recalled his orders. Hubert, some time after, having privately left his sanctuary to visit his wife, who was sister to the king of Scots, was discovered and pursued by some soldiers into a small church; from whence they dragged him; and having loaded him with insults and indignities, carried him to the tower of London. But the church interposing, obliged the king to return him to his sanctuary; where he was so strictly guarded, to prevent his escaping, or receiving any victuals, that he surrendered himself, and was once more lodged in the tower²³.

²² M. Paris, p. 376.

²³ Id. p. 258—261.

When

When he was every moment expecting the worst effects of the malice of his enemies, the king's resentment began to cool, and he positively refused to consent to the death of a man who had adhered so steadily to his father and himself in their adversity. Hubert, after many various turns of fortune, at last recovered some degree of the king's favour; but wisely abstained from all concern in the administration of public affairs²⁴. A.D. 1212.

Whatever were the faults of the late minister, the nation reaped no advantage from his fall. He was succeeded by his great rival and enemy Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester, a man of a very bold and enterprising spirit. This minister invited over many of his own countrymen from Poitou, on whom, by his persuasion, Henry bestowed all offices of honour and profit, procured them the richest heiresses in marriage, and gave them the wardship of the richest of the royal wards²⁵. These foreigners, elated by prosperity and court-favour, treated the English nobility with contempt. But the great barons were not of a temper to bear such treatment with patience: a number of them, with the earl of Pembroke at their head, boldly remonstrated to the king against this preference given to foreigners before his own nobility. To this remonstrance the bishop of Winchester, in the king's name, returned a haughty answer; with which the barons were so

A.D. 1213.
Discon-
tents of
the great
barons.

²⁴ Chron. T. Wikes, p. 41, 42. Chron. Dunst. p. 220.

²⁵ Chron. Dunst. p. 151. M. Paris, p. 258.

much

A.D. 1233. much provoked, that they withdrew from court. The king soon after summoning a parliament to meet at Oxford 24th June, A. D. 1233, the barons by concert refused to attend. Nor did they pay any greater regard to a second summons, to meet July 11, at Westminster. They even went so far as to send the king a message, that if he did not immediately dismiss the bishop of Winchester and the Poictivens from court, they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and place the crown on a worthier head²⁶. This daring language greatly alarmed the king and his minister; who, plainly seeing that the barons were formidable while they were united, laid a scheme to divide them; in which they were successful. Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, together with the earls of Chester and Lincoln, being gained by the court, so many deserted the confederacy, that the earl of Pembroke was almost left alone, to bear the weight of the royal indignation. That valiant nobleman, after defending himself very bravely for some time in England, was decoyed into Ireland, by a contrivance of the bishop of Winchester, and there basely betrayed and murdered²⁷. Thus did that bold and cunning minister dissipate this formidable confederacy, and triumph over his enemies, by the most wicked arts.

²⁶ M. Paris, p. 265.

²⁷ Id. p. 263, 264, 265, &c.
Annal. Waverlien. p. 195. Chron. Dunst. p. 219.

But

But this triumph of the bishop of Winchester was but of short duration. Edmund archbishop of Canterbury represented to the king, in such strong and lively terms, the great injury which he did to himself and his subjects, by placing such unbounded confidence in so hated a minister, and loading strangers with such unmerited honours, that Henry's eyes were opened; the bishop of Winchester was commanded to retire to his diocese; the Poitevins were turned out of all their places; which were filled by Englishmen. The primate, by whose influence this change was brought about, had a great sway in the new administration; from which the people entertained the most sanguine hopes²⁸.

A.D. 1234.

Disgrace of Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester.

King Henry, who was now in his twenty-ninth year, had been as unfortunate in love as in war, having paid his addresses to several ladies without success. At last, however, in the beginning of the year 1236, he was married to Eleanora, second daughter to the count of Provence; which marriage soon became the occasion of new disquiets²⁹. The queen was followed into England by many of her relations and countrymen, who became great favourites with Henry, who on all occasions discovered an extravagant fondness for strangers. William of Savoy, bishop of Valence, the queen's maternal uncle, became prime minister, and had the chief direction of all affairs³⁰. Peter de Savoy

A.D. 1236.

Henry's marriage, and its consequences.

²⁸ M. Paris, p. 271, 272.

²⁹ Heming, p. 573. M. Paris, p. 276. Rymer, tom. 1. p. 448.

³⁰ M. Paris, p. 296, &c. M. West, p. 333.

A.D. 1236. was made earl of Richmond, and Boniface de Savoy was raised to the see of Canterbury, and almost all other places of power and trust were again filled by foreigners. These proceedings did not fail to revive the discontents of the English barons; and the history of England for some years after the king's marriage consists chiefly of the remonstrances of the English nobility against the foreign favourites, and their attempts to remove them from the king's presence and councils, and the arts of these favourites to maintain their ground. Whenever Henry was hard pressed and threatened, or stood in need of money from his parliament, he made the most solemn promises to dismiss all foreigners, and to govern only by the advice of his barons: but as soon as the danger was over, and his wants supplied, he wantonly violated all his promises³¹.

A.D. 1238.
Simon de
Montfort
marries
the king's
sister.

Amongst other foreigners who at this time crowded the court of England, was Simon de Montfort, second son of the famous earl of Montfort, general of the crusade against the Albigenes. This young nobleman enjoyed so great a degree of Henry's favour, that he ventured to pay his addresses to his sister Eleanora, countess dowager of Pembroke, whom he married with the king's consent, and was created earl of Leicester February 2, A. D. 1239: for which great favours this nobleman did not make a very grateful return, as will appear from the sequel of this history³².

A.D. 1240.
&c.
Expedi-
tion to the
continent.

The person and government of Henry were now become exceedingly unpopular, by his incorrigible

³¹ M. Paris, p. 304. col. 2.

³² Id. 314.

attach-

attachment to foreigners,—his violation of the most solemn promises,—his many illegal and arbitrary exactions of money,—and the assistance which he gave to the papal legates in the like exactions;—by all which the kingdom was oppressed and fleeced in the most intolerable manner. While Henry was on such ill terms with his subjects at home, he very imprudently entered upon a foreign expedition. Isabella, the queen-mother of England, soon after the death of king John, married the earl of Marche, to whom she had been betrothed in her youth. The estates of that earl lay in that part of Poictou which was subject to France; and Lewis IX. having bestowed that country on his brother Alphonso, to him he commanded the barons of these parts to pay homage. Queen Isabella persuaded her husband to refuse this homage as below his dignity, to shake off his allegiance to France, and call in her son the king of England to his protection. Henry accepted the invitation, and raised an army, with which he invaded France A. D. 1242. But this expedition was neither better conducted, nor more successful, than his former one into that country. Lewis soon reduced that part of Poictou which belonged to England, and obliged the earl of Marche to implore his mercy; and if that good king had not been restrained by scruples of conscience, he would have deprived Henry of his few remaining dominions on the continent³³. The king of Eng-

A.D. 1240.

³³ M. Paris, p. 392, 393, &c. M. West. p. 306. Chron. Dunst. p. 153.

land,

A.D. 1240. land, after buying a truce of five years with France, and expending an immense sum of money in this disgraceful expedition, returned to England in September A. D. 1243; and in order to conceal his shame, he commanded all his military tenants to meet him at Portsmouth, and conduct him to London, in great pomp, as if he had returned victorious³⁴.

A.D. 1244. A government at once so weak and so profuse, could not fail to become daily more and more odious and contemptible. The king, whose prodigality rendered him always indigent, soon after his return summoned a parliament to supply his wants. **A parlia- ment.** The parliament, far from granting his request, being now fully convinced of his incapacity for government, formed a scheme to deprive him of the administration, and commit it to four great barons chosen by themselves: but by suddenly dissolving the parliament, he prevented the execution of that scheme³⁵.

A.D. 1247. Still further to increase the miseries of the kingdom, and to render the king and his government, if possible, more odious, a new company of foreigners arrived A. D. 1247³⁶. These were three of the king's uterine brothers, sons of the earl of Marche and queen Isabella, who was now dead. These young noblemen, at their arrival, were extremely indigent. Henry received them with great kindness; and, without considering either his own

³⁴ M. Paris, p. 409. Chron. T. Wikes, p. 45.

³⁵ M. Paris, p. 432.

³⁶ Id. p. 491. 495.

circumstances, or the discontents of his subjects, made haste to load them with wealth and honours". A.D. 1247.
 This continual profusion had now brought Henry into such straits, that, to pay some part of his debts, he was obliged to sell his jewels; which were purchased by the citizens of London³⁷. He had broke his faith so frequently to his parliaments, that it was now become customary with these great assemblies to answer all his demands of money with cutting reproaches for the violation of his promises, his profusion to foreigners, and his other acts of male-administration. This obliged Henry to have recourse to many illegal and oppressive methods of raising money to supply his wants. In order to furnish a plausible pretence for these exactions, he assumed the sign of the cross in the year 1250, and declared his resolution to go in person into Palestine, at the head of an army, for the recovery of the Holy Land³⁸. To defray the expences of this expedition, he extorted money from the Jews, the clergy, the cities, the merchants, and, in a word, from all kind of persons, by all kind of means; but having obtained the money, he talked no more of the expedition. Notwithstanding all these expedients for raising money, such was the insatiable avarice of those foreign harpies with whom Henry was surrounded, that he was thereby reduced to such straits as to say, "that alms given to him were more charitably bestowed than on the wretch who begged

³⁷ Knyghton, col. 2436.

³⁸ M. Paris, p. 501.

³⁹ Id. p. 518. M. West. p. 338. Chron. Dunst. p. 293.

A.D. 1147. "from door to door"⁴⁰. Nay (if we may believe a contemporary historian), the officers of the king's household acted the part of common robbers and highwaymen, with the knowledge of their royal master, who shared in their booty.

A.D. 1152. The province of Gascony, in France, still belonged to the crown of England; but several barons in that province had rebelled against the English government, and Henry had sent his brother-in-law Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester with an army to quell these rebellious barons. Montfort succeeded in his design, and reduced the revolted barons; but exercised such severity in his government, that the whole inhabitants of Gascony were exasperated against him, and sent commissioners over to England, who accused him of many acts of oppression. Henry received these commissioners very favourably, and plainly discovered his wishes that Montfort might be found guilty. This obliged the earl to have recourse to the discontented barons; among whom he made so powerful a party, that when he came to his trial he was acquitted by his peers, in spite of all the Gascon commissioners, and the king himself, could say against him. Henry was so much enraged at this, that, forgetting the dignity of his character, he loaded the earl with opprobrious language, calling him a villain and a traitor. Montfort, naturally proud and passionate, starting up in a violent rage, told the king he lied. Such were the fierce and rude manners of those times, and so much

⁴⁰ M. Paris, p. 517.

was majesty degraded by the weakness of this prince! This outrageous affront however made so deep an impression on the king's mind, that he was never cordially reconciled to the earl ⁴¹.

A.D. 1252

Henry finding that all the violent, illegal, and disgraceful methods of raising money, which he had used, were quite insufficient to supply his wants, resolved again to make trial of a parliament; and one was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 5th of April, A. D. 1253. The king laid an account of his necessities before this assembly; and further informed them, that he designed to set out as soon as possible for the Holy Land, and earnestly intreated them to grant him such a supply as would enable him to accomplish that pious design. In order to obviate their usual reproaches, and to gain their consent, he made many acknowledgments of his former errors, and gave them the strongest assurances, that he would govern for the future according to their wishes, and would confirm the charters of their liberties in any manner they pleased. Though the parliament was by no means convinced of his sincerity, yet, after some deliberation, they wisely resolved to make one further trial, by taking him at his word; and agreed to grant him a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for three years, and a scutage of three shillings on every knight's fee, on his confirming the charters with such awful solemnities as might be deemed inviolable; to which the king consented. According to this agreement, the

A.D. 1253.

The charters confirmed with great solemnity.

⁴¹ M. Paris, p. 507. 513. 559, 560.

A.D. 1253. king, with the whole parliament, met, on the 4th of May, in the great hall at Westminster, the prelates and clergy in their robes, with each a lighted taper in his hand. The great charter, and charter of the forests, were read aloud to this august assembly; and then a sentence of excommunication, containing the most tremendous curses and denunciations of the divine wrath against all who should violate, or consent to the violation of these charters, in any particular, was pronounced; at the conclusion of which, the prelates and clergy threw their tapers on the ground, crying with one voice, "So may every one be extinguished, and stink in hell, who shall incur this sentence." To which the king, laying his right hand upon his heart, replied, "So help me God, as I shall faithfully observe all these articles, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a crowned, anointed king." These obligations, it must be confessed, were as solemn and awful as could well be devised; but they were very soon violated by this faithless and misguided prince⁴².

A.D. 1254.
Expedi-
tion into
Gascony.

The divesting Montfort earl of Leicester of his command in Gascony, which followed soon after the violent quarrel above related, was attended with very ill effects. The Gascon barons, no longer overawed by that brave and active governor, became more and more turbulent; and even invited the king of Castile to take possession of their country, who pretended to have got a grant of it from Henry II.

⁴² M. Paris, p. 580. Annal. Burt. 323. M. Westminster. p. 254.

The Castilian, in conjunction with the disaffected barons, reduced several places, and threatened the reduction of the whole province. But Henry, being now reconciled to his English subjects by his late solemn confirmation of their charters, found himself in a capacity to undertake an expedition into Gascony⁴³. Accordingly he summoned all his military tenants to meet him in June at Portsmouth; and on the 15th of August he arrived at Bourdeaux with a gallant army, which soon recovered all the places which had been lost, and obliged the king of Castile to make a formal renunciation of all his pretensions to Gascony. The reconciliation between the two courts was so complete, that a marriage was concluded between Edward prince of England and Eleanor princess of Castile,

A.D. 1254.

But Henry, who delighted much in low dishonest cunning, carefully concealed all this, and sent over his commands to the queen, and his brother the earl of Cornwall, regents of England, to call a parliament, and demand a supply for carrying on the war. A parliament was accordingly assembled on 27th January A.D. 1254; but, having got some hint of the pacification, refused to grant any money until Gascony was actually invaded. Henry not satisfied with this denial, commanded the regents to reassemble the parliament fifteen days after Easter. But the earl of Leicester re-

Henry endeavours to deceive his parliament.

⁴³ M. Paris, p. 581. M. Westmonst. p. 256. Rymeri Fœdera, t. 1. p. 505.

A.D. 1254.



turned from Gascony before that time, and having made a full discovery of the state of affairs there, the parliament returned the same answer to this second demand; and all Henry's dishonourable arts to impose upon his people served only to revive their former distrust of him, and contempt for him⁴⁴.

Henry re-
turns to
England.

Lewis king of France having this year returned from his unfortunate expedition into the Holy Land, Henry applied to him for leave to pass through France in his way to England. This favour was readily granted; and Henry, with all his numerous court and retinue, were magnificently entertained for some time at Paris; and all possible honours were paid him in all places through which he passed. So much time was spent in this journey, that Henry did not arrive in England till the beginning of the year 1255⁴⁵.

A.D. 1255.

The pope
offers the
crown of
Sicily to
Henry's se-
cond son.

The pope, who still acted as superior lord of England, had contributed very much, by the great authority he possessed, and the terror of his spiritual thunders, to support Henry in all his illegal exactions, and to prevent the discontented barons from proceeding to extremities. But his holiness about this time led his royal vassal of England into an affair which involved him in great expence and trouble, by making him an offer of the crown of Sicily for his second son prince Edmond⁴⁶. The pope pretended to dis-

⁴⁴ M. Paris, p. 592. 594.

⁴⁵ Id. p. 600.

⁴⁶ Rymer, vol. 1. p. 512, &c.

pose of that crown, both as superior lord of Sicily, ^{A.D. 1155.} and as vicar of Jesus Christ, to whom all the kingdoms of the earth belonged. He had offered this dangerous present to Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, who wisely declined the offer; but Henry, not so cautious, accepted of it; and his son was styled *king of Sicily*. This crown however was to be won before it could be worn. In order to this, Henry gave his holiness an unlimited credit, to employ what sums of money he pleased in wresting the crown from Mainfroy, who was in possession of it, engaging to reimburse him⁴⁷. The pope, glad of an opportunity of making war on his mortal enemy Mainfroy at another's cost, spared no expence; and in a little time the unwary Henry found himself loaded with an immense debt of 250,000l.⁴⁸

The situation of this prince, on this occasion, was truly perplexing: if he refused to pay this debt, besides losing all hopes of the crown of Sicily, he would incur the indignation of the pope, whose favour was his greatest support; if he attempted to pay it, he must have recourse to new and greater acts of oppression, which might be dangerous. To extricate himself out of these difficulties, he resolved to call a parliament: but in doing this he used a piece of craft, which defeated its own end. He summoned only such barons as he hoped would comply with his desires, sending no writs to such as he ap-

A parliament.

⁴⁷ M. Paris, p. 599.

⁴⁸ Rymer, vol. i. p. 587, &c. M. Paris, p. 617.

A.D. 1255. prehended would be refractory. This parliament met on the 18th October, A.D. 1255; and when the king laid before them a representation of his necessities, and requested a supply, they made answer, that they could grant no money without the consent of the absent barons, who had not been summoned ⁴⁹.

Henry and
the pope
oppress
the clergy.

The church was now Henry's great resource for money; and by the assistance of papal authority he squeezed the clergy without mercy. The pope, by virtue of the plenitude of his apostolical power, granted the king, by several bulls, the goods of all clergymen who died intestate; the revenues of all vacant benefices, and of all non-residents: he published a croisade against Mainfroy, whom he represented as a greater enemy to the Christian faith than any Saracen⁵⁰: he commanded all the money which had been granted by the English parliament for an expedition into the Holy Land to be employed in the conquest of Sicily; he released Henry and all others who had taken the cross or promised money for the holy war, from their vows, on condition of their engaging in person in the war against Mainfroy, or advancing money for its support. It would be endless to enumerate all the arts which the pope and king employed at this time to extort money from the people, especially from the clergy of England; but one of these arts was too remarkable for the villany and impudence of it to be omitted. Walleran bishop of Hereford, a crea-

⁴⁹ M. Paris, p. 614.

⁵⁰ Rymer, vol. 1. p. 563. 593.

ture of the pope, who resided at Rome as an A.D. 1255. agent for the church of England, drew bills of different values on all the bishops, abbots, and considerable clergymen of the kingdom, amounting on the whole to 150,540 marks: an immense sum in those days! These bills were granted to Italian merchants; who, it was pretended, had advanced the money contained in them, for the Sicilian war ⁵¹.

When this exorbitant demand was first notified Resistance of the clergy. to the English clergy, they were filled with astonishment and indignation, and some of them declared their resolution to suffer any extremity rather than comply with it. They were threatened with deprivation; and one of the bishops had the boldness to say, that if they took his mitre from his head, he would supply its place with a helmet ⁵². Yet, with such union and perseverance did the pope and king urge their demand, that the clergy, after a long and spirited resistance, were constrained to submit to this intolerable imposition ⁵³.

Though Richard earl of Cornwall was of a A.D. 1257. very different character from the king his brother, being as remarkable for amassing money as the other was for squandering it; yet at last his ambition got the better of his prudence, and he embarked in an affair which proved as chimerical and expensive as that of Sicily. The imperial throne being vacant, some of the electors cast Richard earl of Cornwall chosen king of the Romans.

⁵¹ Rymeri Fœdera, t. 1. p. 595.

⁵² M. Paris, p. 615, 616.

⁵³ Id. p. 617, 619.

their

A.D. 1257. their eyes on earl Richard, or rather on his riches, and he was chosen king of the Romans, and a deputation sent to invite him to come and take possession of that dignity. Richard, dazzled with the lustre of the Imperial crown, after some hesitation, accepted of the invitation; and in April A.D. 1257, he departed from England with a noble train of forty English gentlemen, and carried with him, if we may believe Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian, no less a sum of money than seven hundred thousand marks, equal in value and efficacy to eight millions of our money at present⁵⁴. But this prince, on his arrival in Germany, found that he had a powerful rival for the Imperial throne, in Alphonso king of Castile; and expended all the money he carried with him, besides several remittances from England, without obtaining any thing in return but the empty title of king of the Romans.

A.D. 1258.

Fatal consequences of the departure of earl Richard.

The departure of earl Richard from England at this time was very fatal both to his country and his family: to his country, by draining it of such a prodigious mass of treasure, the want of which was very severely felt; to his family, by depriving it of the support of the first prince of the blood, the richest and most powerful subject in Europe. For though Richard had often joined the discontented barons, in their remonstrances against the illegal and arbitrary measures of Henry's government; yet whenever the barons attempted to go

⁵⁴ M. Paris, p. 639.

too far, and to deprive the crown of its just prerogatives, he always deserted them, and put a stop to their proceedings. But as soon as the throne was deprived of this great support, the barons made bold attacks upon it; and the misguided prince soon furnished them with a favourable opportunity.

A.D. 1258.

Henry, still deluded by the pope, continued to prosecute the ridiculous design of conquering Sicily, called a parliament, and demanded supplies for that purpose. Never was any demand more imprudent or unseasonable. It furnished the earl of Leicester, and the other discontented barons, with the fairest occasion of reproaching Henry with all the errors and abuses of his government; which they did in the strongest terms, concluding with a solemn declaration, that they were determined no longer to rely on his oaths and promises, which had been so often violated, but were resolved immediately to drive all foreigners from his court and presence, and to have the administration put into such hands as they could depend upon. In fine, they proposed, that twenty-four persons should be chosen, twelve from the king's council, and twelve from their own number, to whom full powers should be given to reform all the abuses in the government, and to make such regulations as should effectually prevent the return of such abuses. The king, intimidated by the determined air and martial appearance of the barons, who came into the parliament-hall in complete armour, consented to every thing proposed;

A parliament.

A.D. 1258. posed; and another meeting was appointed to bring this new model of government to perfection⁵⁵.

The provisions of Oxford.

Accordingly, on the 11th June A. D. 1258, that famous assembly, afterwards called the *mad parliament*, met at Oxford. The barons came attended with such an armed force as rendered any opposition from the court impracticable. According to agreement, twelve barons were chosen by the king's council, and twelve by the parliament; to whom was given an absolute authority, unlimited both as to time and power, to reform the state, and make what regulations they thought fit, for the future government of the kingdom; in a word, into their hands was committed the whole legislative and executive power: and the king himself, his eldest son prince Edward, and all persons in all stations, took a solemn oath to observe and obey all regulations which should be made by these twenty-four barons⁵⁶. As the earl of Leicester was the most considerable person in this junto, for riches, power, eloquence, boldness, and popularity, they acted chiefly by his direction and advice. Their first transactions bore a specious appearance of a real regard to the public good. They ordained, that three sessions of parliament should be held every year, in the months of February, June, and October⁵⁷;—That four knights should be chosen in each county, to

⁵⁵ M. Paris, p. 653.

⁵⁶ Rymer, vol. 1, p. 655. Chron. Dunst., p. 334.

⁵⁷ Ann. Burt. p. 415.

enquire into the peculiar grievances of that county, and lay the same before each meeting of parliament; and that the expences of these knights in the performance of that service should be borne by their county:—That a new high sheriff should be elected every year, by the votes of the freeholders in each county:—That none of the royal wards should be committed to the custody of foreigners:—That no new forests or warrens should be created:—and, That the revenues of counties should not be let to farm. Such were the first regulations (commonly called the *Provisions of Oxford*) which were made by the twenty-four barons⁵⁸. A.D. 1258.

If these barons had proceeded in the same moderate and equitable course, and made all proper haste to finish the work of reformation, there would have been no great reason to complain of their abuse of the unlimited authority with which they had been intrusted. But their subsequent proceedings discovered a very interested spirit, and indicated an intention to perpetuate their own power, and turn it to their own private advantage. They got into their possession all the royal castles, which they either kept in their own hands, or committed to the custody of their creatures. They turned out all the great officers of state, and of the king's household, to make room for themselves and their dependents. They enriched themselves and their families, by the royal escheats and wardships. In a word, the twenty-four barons engrossed the whole power, and a great part A.D. 1259.
Violations
of the consti-
tution.

⁵⁸ Rymeri Foedera, p. 660, &c. Annal. Burton. p. 414, &c.

A.D. 1259. of the revenues of the crown; the king was a mere pageant of state, without the least shadow of authority, and the English constitution was entirely changed from a monarchy to an aristocracy, or rather an oligarchy⁵⁹.

Prince Edward, &c. obliged to submit.

Prince Edward, the king's uterine brothers, the queen's relations, and some of the English barons, made some opposition to all these prodigious changes; particularly to the oath of unlimited submission to all the ordinances of the twenty-four barons, made and to be made; and to the surrender of the royal castles: but the torrent ran so strong, that all opposition was in vain, and they were obliged to submit⁶⁰.

The king's uterine brothers &c.

The foreign favourites, against whom Leicester, himself a foreigner, denounced the most terrible threatenings, seeing the king no longer able to protect them, betook themselves to flight, and escaped out of the kingdom⁶¹. Even the king of the Romans, who paid a visit to his native country, A. D. 1259, was not allowed to set his foot in England, until he had solemnly engaged to take the oath of submission, and comply with all these changes⁶². With such a high hand did the twenty-four barons exert their unlimited authority, that the pope himself, who made nothing of dethroning emperors, though greatly exasperated against them on many accounts, was obliged to smother his resentment.

⁵⁹ Ann. Burt. p. 413. T. Wykes, p. 53.

p. 53. Ann. Burt. p. 411.

p. 441.

⁶⁰ T. Wykes, p. 660. Ann. Burt.

⁶¹ M. Paris, p. 660. Ann. Burt. p. 53.

The twenty-four barons, however, did not long enjoy their exorbitant power in peace. They had lost much of their popularity by their arbitrary proceedings: they were often called upon, both by king and people, to finish the intended reformation, that they might lay down their commission; but they made no haste to comply with these calls; and some trifling regulations which they published gave little satisfaction⁶¹. But what was most fatal to their power and interest, was some secret jealousies and disputes which arose amongst themselves, particularly between the two powerful earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the latter alleging, that the former assumed too great a share of authority, and acted many things without consulting his colleagues⁶².

A.D. 1261.

The 24
barons be-
come un-
popular.

The king, who bore with great impatience the state of insignificance to which he was reduced, hearing of these circumstances, began to entertain hopes of recovering his former authority, and formed a scheme for that purpose. But this, like many other schemes of that prince, was ill-concerted and unseasonable; his son, prince Edward, and his brother, the king of the Romans, who were most able to support him, being both out of the kingdom. Henry, however, having taken his resolution, came unexpectedly into parliament, which was held at London, April 23, A. D. 1262, and reproaching the twenty-four barons with the breach of their promises to him, and the many abuses of their

A.D. 1262.

The king
endea-
vours to
recover his
authority.

⁶¹ Trivit. p. 209. Ann. Burt. p. 428—439.
Dunst. p. 348.

⁶² Chron.

power,

A.D. 1264.

power, declared that he would no longer pay any regard to the provisions of Oxford, but would immediately resume the exercise of his royal authority⁶⁵. Having made this bold declaration, he retired to the tower, whose governor he had gained, seized a considerable treasure which was deposited there, and from thence, by proclamation, turned out all the great officers, judges, and sheriffs, which had been nominated by the twenty-four barons, and put others in their room⁶⁶. This occasioned infinite confusion in the kingdom; some obeying the officers and magistrates nominated by the king, and others obeying those nominated by the barons; and many paying no regard to any magistracy, but living as if all government had been dissolved.

Dispute
between
Henry and
the barons
compromised.

The twenty-four barons, and their party, were prodigiously astonished at these proceedings of the king, of which they had received no previous notice. But after their first surprise was over, they began to consult what was necessary to be done for their own preservation, and that of their authority. In order to this, they resolved to bury all their private quarrels and animosities in oblivion; and the earls of Leicester and Gloucester were reconciled: they bound themselves anew, by the most solemn oaths, to stand by one another, and to support the provisions of Oxford with their lives and fortunes. Strengthened by this union among themselves, the twenty-four barons began to talk and act with their former authority. They sent the king a message,

⁶⁵ T. Wykes, p. 55.⁶⁶ Id. p. 56.

requiring

requiring him to recal his late declaration, and submit to the provisions of Oxford, declaring, that if he did not comply, they would compel him to it by force of arms⁶⁷. When things were in this strange unsettled state, prince Edward and the king of the Romans arrived in England. The prince, very much to his own honour, but to the great surprise and disappointment of his father, declared, that though he had taken the oath of submission to the Oxford provisions, much against his will, yet he thought himself bound to observe that oath⁶⁸. The king of the Romans offering his mediation, it was accepted by both parties; and an agreement was brought about on the following terms: That Henry should once more submit to the provisions of Oxford; and that the barons should change and mitigate certain articles which were most displeasing to the king. But the earl of Leicester refused to sign this agreement, declaring, that he could no longer rely on any promises of a prince who had so often violated his most solemn oaths; and he retired into France in great discontent. By this pacification, however, some degree of order and tranquillity was restored to the distracted kingdom⁶⁹.

Henry imprudently trusting to this appearance of tranquillity, or more probably in order to avoid fulfilling his part of the late treaty, hastened over to Bourdeaux, to settle, as he pretended, some affairs in Guienne⁷⁰. The barons, displeased that the king

A.D. 1262.

A.D. 1263.
Pacifica-
tion.⁶⁷ M. Paris, p. 667.⁶⁸ Id. *ibid*.⁶⁹ T. Wykes, p. 57.⁷⁰ M. West. p. 381.

A.D. 1263. had left the kingdom without confirming the Oxford provisions, were greatly incensed at his endless prevarications; and the earl of Leicester, returning from France, so effectually inflamed them, that they became more united, and more determined to proceed to extremities, than ever. As soon as the king returned from Guienne, the barons addressed him in a body, demanding the immediate confirmation of the provisions of Oxford. But Henry having overcome the scruples of his son prince Edward, and depending on the assistance of his brother, and some other barons, returned a rough answer to this demand; and even went so far as to call them rebels, and threatened them with the severest punishments. This answer was more than sufficient to drive the barons to extremities: they immediately flew to arms; and chusing the earl of Leicester for their general, they destroyed the lands of the king and his adherents, put to death all foreigners that fell in their way, and took several cities, before the king had any troops ready to oppose them⁷¹. This brought Henry once more to consent to any terms the barons thought fit to prescribe; and a second pacification was made on the following conditions: 1. That all the king's castles should be delivered to the barons. 2. That the provisions of Oxford should be inviolably observed. 3. That all foreigners should be banished. 4. That the administration of affairs should be committed to such as the barons pleased⁷².

⁷¹ Trivit. p. 211. M. West. p. 382.

⁷² Chron. Dunst. p. 358. M. Paris, p. 668, 669.

But

But this pacification was no better observed than the former; and the whole year 1263 was spent in alternate truces and hostilities between the king and the barons. The citizens of London having in general embraced the party of the barons with the most ardent zeal, the mob of that city insulted the queen, as she was upon the river in her barge, with the most opprobrious language; and even put her in fear of her life, by throwing at her dirt and stones⁷³. Prince Edward was besieged in the castle of Bristol by the inhabitants of that city; and having got from thence by stratagem, he was again besieged by the barons in Windsor castle; and being taken prisoner in a conference with the earl of Leicester, he was obliged to purchase his liberty by the surrender of the castle⁷⁴. These, and some other unfavourable events, again discouraged the king, and obliged him to submit to more disadvantageous terms than any he had yet yielded to, in order to obtain a cessation of hostilities. A pacification was accordingly concluded, on the 18th of July A. D. 1263, by which the authority of the twenty-four barons was to continue, not only during the reign of the present king, but even during that of his successor⁷⁵.

A.D. 1263.

Another
pacifica-
tion.

This last condition, as might be expected, was very displeasing to prince Edward; who, exerting himself with great vigour, gained over to the royal party several great barons, who either envied the

A.D. 1264.

Disputes
between
Henry and
the barons
referred to
the king of
France.

⁷³ T. Wykes. p. 57. M. Paris, p. 668.

⁷⁴ Trivit. p. 213.

⁷⁵ M. West. 383.

A.D. 1264.

authority, or disliked the violence, of the twenty-four. This brought the two parties much nearer to an equality than they had been, and made them both readily agree to refer all their differences to Lewis IX. king of France, a prince universally admired for his great wisdom and virtue. This reference being ratified by the oaths and subscriptions of all the great men in both parties, Lewis undertook the honourable and friendly office of umpire, and summoned the states of France to meet at Amiens on the 23d January, A. D. 1264, in order to examine the merits of this great cause in their presence; and on the 3d of February he pronounced this equitable award: That the provisions of Oxford, being destructive of the royal authority, and subversive of the ancient constitution, should be annulled, and the king restored to the possession of all his castles, lands, and revenues; to the nomination of the great officers of state, and of his household; and, in general, to all the royal rights and prerogatives which he had enjoyed before the meeting of the parliament of Oxford. On the other hand, he decreed, That a general amnesty should be granted to all the subjects of England, for all past offences; and that they should be maintained in the full enjoyment of all liberties and privileges which had been granted to them by any former charters⁷⁶.

War between
Henry and
the barons.

As soon as this award was notified to the earl of Leicester and his party, they rejected it with dis-

⁷⁶ Rymer, vol. 1. p. 776, 777, 778. M. Welf. p. 383.

dain;

tain; affirming, that the one part of it was a contradiction to the other; and that it was impossible the liberties of England granted by the charters could be maintained, without the provisions of Oxford⁷⁷. It now appeared evident to all the world, that this great quarrel could be decided only by the sword; and therefore both parties prepared for war with great eagerness. The earl of Leicester continued in London, the zeal and wealth of whose citizens was the great support of his party, and sent his sons and partizans into all parts of England to raise forces. The king summoned his military tenants, and the barons of his party, from all quarters, and soon found himself at the head of a numerous and gallant army⁷⁸. The royal arms were at first successful, having taken Northampton by assault on the 5th April. Simon de Montfort, one of Leicester's sons, with some other barons, and the whole garrison, were made prisoners; and Leicester and Nottingham opened their gates to prince Edward⁷⁹. On the other hand, the earl of Leicester formed the siege of Rochester, in which the earl of Warrenne, and several other barons of the royal party, had taken shelter⁸⁰. The king and prince, hearing of their danger, hastened to their relief; and Leicester, at their approach, raised the siege, and retired with his army to London.

Here having received a powerful reinforcement of fifteen thousand of the most zealous citizens,

A.D. 1264.

Battle of
Lewes.⁷⁷ Chron. Dunst. p. 363.⁷⁸ Rym. t. 1. p. 772.⁷⁹ T. Wykes, p. 60.⁸⁰ Id. p. 61.

A.D. 1264. he thought himself sufficiently strong to meet the royalists in the field⁸¹. Leaving London, therefore, he directed his march towards Lewes in Suffex, where the king and prince, with their army, lay encamped. At this place, on the 14th of May A.D. 1264, was fought the famous and decisive battle of Lewes. The royal army was divided into three bodies, the van commanded by prince Edward, the main body commanded by the king of the Romans and his son Henry, and the rear by the king in person, assisted by some of the chief barons of his party⁸². The other army was divided into four bodies, the van, consisting entirely of Londoners, commanded by Nicolas de Segrave, the main body commanded by the earl of Leicester in person, and two bodies of reserve, the one commanded by the earl of Gloucester, and the other by Henry and Guy de Montfort, two of Leicester's sons. In the beginning of the action, victory declared for the royalists. Prince Edward made so furious an attack upon the Londoners, that he put them to flight; and, transported by his youthful ardour, and the resentment of the many injuries they had heaped upon his family, pursued them four miles with great eagerness and slaughter⁸³. Leicester, taking advantage of the great error the prince had committed, led on the bodies commanded by himself,

⁸¹ M. West. p. 386.

⁸² M. West. p. 387. T. Wykes, p. 63.

⁸³ Hemming, p. 583. M. Paris, p. 670, 671.

by Gloucester, and by his sons, against the main body of the royalists, which was defeated with great slaughter, and the king of the Romans, who commanded it, taken prisoner; and soon after king Henry shared the same fate, the rear of his army, where he was, being also defeated, and pursued into the town of Lewes⁸⁴. A.D. 1264.

Prince Edward at last returning from the pursuit of the Londoners, to his infinite surprise and grief, found the day entirely lost, and heard that the two kings, his father and uncle, with many of the chief barons of the party, were prisoners. He endeavoured to persuade the forces he had about him, to renew the battle while the victors were in some confusion; but they were too much confounded and dispirited to listen to his persuasions; and the artful Leicester, fearing some attempt of that kind, amused the prince with proposals for an accommodation⁸⁵. In the mean time the earl was busy in securing his royal prisoners, and rallying his troops, with which he surrounded the prince on all hands. Edward, finding that there was hardly a possibility left for his escape, was obliged to submit to these hard conditions: That the provisions of Oxford should be confirmed and executed; and that the prince, and his cousin Henry, son to the king of the Romans, should surrender themselves prisoners, and remain as hostages for their respective fathers, in

The Mife
of Lewes;

⁸⁴ M. West. p. 387.

⁸⁵ Hemming, p. 584.

A.D. 1264. the hands of Leicester and the barons, until all things were completely settled ⁸⁶.

Violated
by Lei-
cester.

This treaty is commonly known in the English history by the name of the *Mise of Lewes*; in consequence of which, prince Edward, and his cousin Henry, immediately surrendered themselves to Leicester, who sent them under a strong guard to Dover castle. As the great design of Leicester and the barons in making the mise or agreement of Lewes, was to get prince Edward into their hands, who was the chief object of their fears, and of the hopes of the royal party, as soon as they had accomplished this end, they paid no further regard to that agreement. The two kings who should have been set at liberty by that treaty, were still prisoners in effect, being surrounded by such only as were entirely devoted to Leicester; who made the unfortunate Henry send orders to all the governors of his castles to surrender them to the barons; and made use of the king as an instrument of destroying the royal authority, and advancing his own, and that of his party ⁸⁷.

Avarice
and am-
bition of
Leicester.

The earl of Leicester having got the chief persons of the royal family, and the whole royal authority, into his hands, became wanton with prosperity, and gave full scope to his two ruling passions, avarice and ambition. To gratify the former, he seized the estates of eighteen barons of the royal party, and appropriated to himself

⁸⁶ M. Paris, p. 671. Knyghton, col. 2451. T. Wykes, p. 63.

⁸⁷ Rymer, vol. 1. p. 790, &c.

the greatest part of the money arising from the ransom of the prisoners which had been taken at the battle of Lewes; and took many other oppressive and dishonourable methods to fill his coffers⁸⁸. To satisfy his ambition, he contrived a new plan of government, by which the royal authority was committed to three persons, viz. himself, the earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester; and as the bishop was entirely under his influence, he in reality had the supreme direction of all public affairs⁸⁹.

A.D. 1264.

Such immense wealth and exorbitant power in any subject could not fail to excite envy; and the natural haughtiness of Leicester, increased by his great good fortune, rendered his exaltation still more offensive and invidious. He was generally suspected, and even openly accused, of aspiring to the throne. The fallen and desolate state of the royal family, not only increased the tenderness and affection of their own party, but began to awaken compassion in the breasts of many who had contributed to their fall. The earl of Gloucester, in particular, seeing himself so much eclipsed by his all-grasping and too powerful associate, secretly conspired his ruin⁹⁰.

Effects of
Leicester's
conduct.

The earl of Leicester was too quick-sighted not to discern the existence, and dread the consequences, of these increasing discontents, which

A.D. 1265.
Parliament.

⁸⁸ T. Wykes, p. 63. M. Paris, p. 671.

⁸⁹ Brady's Appendix, No 213. Rymeri Fœdera, t. 1. p. 693, &c.

⁹⁰ M. Paris, p. 671.

prevailed

A.D. 1265.

prevalled chiefly among the better fort. In order to diminish this odium under which he had fallen, he put on an appearance of moderation, and called a parliament, in order, as he pretended, to set prince Edward at liberty. To this famous parliament were summoned not only the great barons, but every shire was ordered to send two knights, every city two citizens, and every burgh two burgesſes, as their representatives⁹¹. This parliament aſſembled 28th January A. D. 1265, and, by the perſuaſion of the earl of Leiceſter, made a decree to ſet prince Edward at liberty, but at the ſame time commanding that he ſhould remain near the perſon of the king his father. The prince was accordingly brought from Dover caſtle, and delivered to his father; but as the king was in reality a priſoner in the hands of Leiceſter, the prince was guarded with the moſt jealous care, and ſoon found that he was ſtill a priſoner, only a little more at large⁹². This groſs impoſition rather increaſed than diminished the hatred and jealouſy of the public againſt Leiceſter. The earl of Glouceſter, not daring to truſt his perſon within the reach of his daring and powerful rival, retired to his eſtate, repaired and garrifoned his caſtles, and made all poſſible preparations for his own defence⁹³.

Prince
Edward
makes his
eſcape.

Leiceſter, determined to cruſh the earl of Glouceſter and his adherents; proclaimed them

⁹¹ Rymer, vol. 1. p. 802.⁹² Annal. Waverlien. p. 216.⁹³ T. Wykes, p. 66. M. Paris, p. 671. Annal. Waverlien. p. 216.

traitors

traitors in the king's name, raised an army, and marched towards them, carrying the king and prince with him. As the two armies drew near to one another, the earl of Gloucester formed a scheme for the deliverance of prince Edward out of the hands of Leicester; he even found means of communicating this scheme to the prince, and of getting a horse of extraordinary fleetness conveyed to him. The prince, in consequence of this concert, feigned himself indisposed for some days, and then pretending to recover, he proposed to take an airing on horseback, for the benefit of his health. Leicester suspecting nothing, and trusting to the fidelity and vigilance of the gentlemen he had placed about the prince's person, made no opposition. As the prince and his company, or rather guards, were riding along, he artfully proposed running matches between the several gentlemen who were best mounted; while he himself, as hardly recovered from his indisposition, moved gently along, on the horse conveyed to him by the earl of Gloucester. At length, when he observed the horses of his attendants sufficiently blown by their diversion, the prince, suddenly clapping spurs to his horse, rode off at full speed. As soon as his attendants recovered from their surprise, they pursued him till they saw the prince received by a party of horse, which had been sent to favour his escape⁹⁴. A.D. 1265.

⁹⁴ T. Wykes, p. 67. W. Hemming, p. 585.

A.D. 1265.
 Prince Edward at the head of an army.

This fortunate escape of prince Edward gave incredible joy to all the friends of the royal family; who flew to arms, and hastened to his standard; and being joined by the earl of Gloucester, Roger Mortimer, and the barons of these parts, he soon found himself at the head of a very gallant army⁹⁵. At the desire of the earl of Gloucester, the prince made a solemn declaration to the army, That if God should grant him victory, he would persuade the king his father to banish all foreigners, to preserve the liberties, and govern according to the laws, of England. This declaration inspired his army with the warmest attachment to his person, and the most ardent zeal for the royal cause⁹⁶.

Battles of
 Kennelworth and
 Evesham.

Though Leicester was greatly astonished at the prince's escape, he was not wanting to himself, but took every measure he could think of for his own preservation. Having the king still in his hands, he obliged that unhappy prince to issue a proclamation, declaring his son prince Edward, the earl of Gloucester, and all their adherents, traitors, and forbidding his subjects to give them any assistance⁹⁷. He wrote to his eldest son, Simon de Montfort, to make all possible haste to join him with an army from London. But this junction never took effect; for prince Edward, making forced marches, surprised young Montfort

⁹⁵ T. Wykes, p. 68.

⁹⁶ Id. *ibid*.

⁹⁷ Brady's Appendix, N^o 221, 222. Rymeri Fœdera, t. 1. p. 810, 811, 812, &c.

and his army at Kennelworth, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces, on the 1st of August A. D. 1265⁹⁸. The prince, without losing a moment's time, turned about and directed his march towards the Severn, in order to meet and attack old Montfort, before he heard of his son's defeat. Leicester had passed the Severn, and was advanced as far as Evesham, expecting every moment to be joined by his son with his army from London, of whose misfortune he had received no information. Prince Edward commanded one part of his army to approach Evesham by the road from Kennelworth, displaying the banners which had been taken from young Montfort's army; and the earl of Leicester's spies, deceived by that appearance, brought him word, that his son, with his army, was at hand. But the earl did not long enjoy the pleasure of this mistake; for he soon discovered with his own eyes, that they were enemies who advanced; and observing their great numbers, and excellent order, he had a presage of his approaching fate; which made him cry out, "God have mercy on our souls; for our bodies are prince Edward's⁹⁹." The armies soon engaged, and, being animated by the example of their valiant leaders, fought with uncommon fury. In the heat of the action, king Henry was wounded, and in great danger of being slain by a soldier of his son's army; but crying out, "I

⁹⁸ T. Wykes, p. 69. M. Paris, p. 672. Annal. Waverlien. p. 219. ⁹⁹ W. Hemming, p. 586. M. Paris, p. 672.

" am

A.D. 1265. " am Henry of Winchester, thy sovereign; don't
 " kill me," he was known, and conducted to a
 place of safety¹⁰⁰. The Welsh troops in Leicester's army were the first who turned their backs; but even after their flight, his other forces for some time maintained their ground, until the earl himself, and his son Henry Montfort, were slain; which put an end to the fierce dispute: and prince Edward obtained a most glorious and complete victory near Evesham, on the 4th August A. D. 1265. Besides the earl of Leicester and his son Henry, many other barons of that party were killed; Guy de Montfort, another of Leicester's sons, and several other barons, were taken prisoners¹⁰¹.

Character
 of the earl
 of Leicester.

Thus fell Simon de Montfort, the great earl of Leicester, who raised himself to a degree of greatness hardly inferior to royalty, and of wealth superior to that of some of our monarchs. Nothing is more difficult than to form a just idea of the real character of this illustrious person, who was abhorred as a devil by one half of England, and adored as a saint and guardian angel by the other¹⁰². He was unquestionably one of the greatest generals and politicians of his age; bold, ambitious, and enterprising; ever considered, both by friends and enemies, as the very soul of the party which he espoused. He was fierce and

¹⁰⁰ W. Hemming, l. 3. c. 31. p. 386, 387.

¹⁰¹ Id. *ibid.* M. Paris, p. 672.

¹⁰² M. Paris, p. 672. Chron. Mailros, p. 232, &c.

clamorous

clamorous in the cause of liberty, till he arrived at power, which he employed in aggrandising and enriching his own family. But whether he did this in order to enable him to establish the liberties of his country on a solid foundation, or only to gratify his own avarice and ambition, is perhaps impossible to be determined.

A.D. 1265.

The death of the earl of Leicester was followed by the total ruin of his family, and destruction of his party. The great estates of the barons were confiscated without mercy; which drove such of them as had escaped from the fatal battle of Evesham to despair. A number of these, under the command of Simon de Montfort, eldest son of the earl of Leicester, seized and fortified the isle of Axholm, and stood upon their defence; but after a brave resistance, they were obliged to surrender to prince Edward, and their leader, Simon de Montfort, was banished the kingdom¹⁰³. One Adam de Gurdon was at the head of another party of these desperadoes in Hampshire; and being a person of great strength and courage, he was reduced with some difficulty, prince Edward having taken Adam prisoner with his own hand, after a very fierce and dangerous combat. The prince, charmed with the bravery of the man, though exerted against his own person, not only saved his life, but granted him his liberty: a favour which he returned by the most zealous and devoted services¹⁰⁴. The garri-

A.D. 1266.

Consequences of the battle of Evesham.

¹⁰³ W. Hemming, l. 3. c. 32. p. 587. T. Wykes, p. 73.

¹⁰⁴ T. Wykes, p. 76. M. Paris, p. 675.

A.D. 1266. fon of the caſtle of Kennelworth was not ſo eaſily ſubdued, holding out againſt the royal army ſeveral months, and were at laſt obliged by famine to ſurrender, in November A. D. 1266¹⁰⁵. But the moſt formidable body of the remains of the late powerful and triumphant faction had taken refuge in the iſle of Ely, and made great depredation on all the neighbouring country. In order, therefore, to extinguiſh theſe ſurviving ſparks of civil diſſenſion, a parliament was held in the town of Kennelworth, during the ſiege of the caſtle. In this parliament more moderate counſels prevailed, and certain commiſſioners were appointed to compound with the rebellious barons. Many of the diſinherited, as they were then called, made their compoſitions, and were reſtored to their eſtates¹⁰⁶. But the rebels in the iſle of Ely, truſting to their own ſtrength and that of the place, ſtill continued to hold out.

A.D. 1267. In order to their reduction, the king held a parliament at St. Edmondsbury on the 10th February A. D. 1267¹⁰⁷. But the earl of Glouceſter, who had contributed ſo much to the deliverance of prince Edward, to the deſtruction of Leiceſter, and to the reſtoration of the king to his liberty and authority, reſuſed to attend that parliament. This great nobleman, diſguſted at the ſeverities exerciſed towards the diſinherited barons, and with the little regard that was paid to the ſolemn promiſes

¹⁰⁵ T. Wykes, p. 78.

¹⁰⁶ This act of parliament is called *diſtum de Kennelworth*. M. Paris, p. 675.

¹⁰⁷ T. Wykes, p. 78.

which

which had been made to him by the prince before the battle of Evesham, had retired in, discontent to his own estate; and the messengers who were sent to him by the parliament, to invite him to that assembly, found him busy in raising an army. He gave these messengers the strongest assurances, that these preparations were designed against his enemy Mortimer; and even put into their hands a declaration, under his own seal, that he never would bear arms against the king: with which declaration the king and parliament were satisfied; a supply was granted, and an army raised for the reduction of the isle of Ely¹⁰⁸.

A.D. 1267.

When the king was engaged in this expedition against Ely, and prince Edward was employed in reducing some of the disinherited barons in the north, the earl of Gloucester marched suddenly with his army to London, into which he was received without opposition. The city of London had been the chief support of the Leicesterian party; and the intemperate zeal of Fitz-Richard the mayor, and the lower rank of citizens, for that party, had driven them to commit many cruel outrages on the royalists, and to offer many indignities to the royal family. For these enormities the city was severely punished after the battle of Evesham; for which being full of resentment and disaffection, the earl of Gloucester was a welcome guest. Here the earl published a manifesto, declaring, that he had taken up arms, to procure more moderate terms

The earl
of Glou-
cester
enters
London.

¹⁰⁸ T. Wykes, p. 78.

A.D. 1267. for the disinherited, and to oblige the king and prince to keep their promises, of preserving all the liberties of England ¹⁰⁹.

**Pacifica-
tion.**

Henry was greatly alarmed with this new and dangerous insurrection; and prince Edward arriving from the north with an army, and having joined the king, they directed their march towards London ¹¹⁰. At the approach of the royal army, which was very numerous, the earl of Gloucester made proposals for an accommodation; and having obtained an indemnity for himself, his followers, and the city of London, he laid down his arms, and returned to his duty. The isle of Ely surrendered on the 25th of July A. D. 1267, by which a period was put to the civil wars and dissensions with which England had been so long distracted. This happy event was chiefly owing to the defection of the earl of Gloucester from the Leicesterian party, and to the wisdom, valour, and activity of prince Edward.

**Scotland
and Wales.**

The courts of England and Scotland had now for many years lived in the most cordial friendship with one another, the two royal families being united, by the marriage of king Henry's sister Joan to Alexander II. king of Scots, and of his daughter Margaret to Alexander III. Even the national antipathy between the two kingdoms was in a great measure extinguished by an almost uninterrupted peace of half a century. The English in this reign did not live in the same harmony with their neigh-

¹⁰⁹ Rymeri Fœdera, t. 1. p. 41. T. Wykes, p. 81.

¹¹⁰ Chron. Dunst. p. 394, 395. T. Wykes, p. 79.

bours of Wales, whose princes bore with great impatience the superiority of the crown of England over them and their country, and made frequent attempts to throw it off. But all these attempts were unsuccessful, and ended in fresh submissions to a power with which they were unable to contend. In the late civil wars Lewellyn prince of Wales warmly espoused the party of Leicester and the barons, and at length shared in the consequences of their defeat: for immediately after the surrender of the isle of Ely the royal army marched into Wales, which obliged Lewellyn to renew his homage and fealty to Henry, and to pay him besides the sum of twenty-five thousand marks ¹¹¹.

A.D. 1267.

By the submission of the Welsh, England was restored to a state of perfect tranquillity; but the rage of civil discord was no sooner extinguished, than the foolish and pernicious spirit of croisading revived: for Henry having assembled his parliament in April A. D. 1268, at Northampton, both the king, and Ottobon, the pope's legate, warmly recommended a new expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land; and prince Edward, with several great barons, many knights, and a great multitude of common people, assumed the cross ¹¹². While preparations were making for this expedition, another parliament was held at Marleborough, in November, in which several good laws were made, which are well known by the name of *the Statutes of Marleborough* ¹¹³.

A.D. 1268.

Croisade.

¹¹¹ T. Wykes, p. 84.¹¹² Ann. Waverly, p. 224.¹¹³ T. Wykes, p. 85, 86.

A.D. 1270.

Prince Ed-
ward's ex-
pedition
to the
Holy
Land.

After two years had been spent in preparations, prince Edward embarked at Portsmouth, in May A. D. 1270, to join the king of France at Tunis¹¹⁴; but that great and good king Lewis IX. dying there of the plague, and the French army returning home, the prince was so resolved on this romantic expedition, that he proceeded to Palestine with his own little army. There this brave prince gave many proofs of his undaunted courage and military skill, and so much alarmed the Saracens, that an assassin was employed to murder him, who was killed in making the attempt, but not till he had wounded the prince in the arm with a poisoned knife, by which his life was in great danger¹¹⁵.

A.D. 1272.

Death of
Henry III.

While prince Edward was gathering barren laurels, and encountering real dangers in the Holy Land, his family, and his native country, stood much in need of his presence. In this interval the royal family sustained two great losses, by the death of Henry de Almaine, and of his father, the king of the Romans: the former being basely murdered at Viterbo, in Italy, by his two exiled cousins, Guy and Simon de Montfort¹¹⁶; and the latter dying of grief for the loss of his son, at Berkhamstead, 2d April A. D. 1272. King Henry, worn out by age and infirmities, was quite unequal to the task of government, which under his feeble administration became utterly contemptible. The great barons oppressed the people at their pleasure, the highways

¹¹⁴ M. West. p. 400.¹¹⁵ M. Paris, p. 678. T. Wykes, p. 97. Chron. Mailros, p. 242, &c.¹¹⁶ M. West. p. 400. T. Wykes, p. 95.

were

were infested by robbers, and the inhabitants of London, and some other cities, became very riotous and disorderly. As the king was returning from Norwich, where he had been suppressing one of these riots, he was taken ill at St. Edmundsbury, from whence being conveyed to Westminster by easy journies, he there died, on the 16th November A. D. 1272, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-seventh of his reign¹¹⁷. A.D. 1272.

Henry III. surnamed *of Winchester*, was in his person of middle stature, of a robust constitution, but unpleasing countenance; his left eye-brow hanging down, and almost covering his eye¹¹⁸. This prince was certainly not possessed of great intellectual abilities, much less of true wisdom, and the right art of governing; yet his understanding does not seem to have been remarkably defective, but had unhappily taken a turn towards low dishonest cunning. As the ends which he had in view were often bad, and such as could not be openly avowed, he endeavoured to attain them by the winding ways of treachery and deceit. Some of Henry's repartees are preserved in history, which do not bespeak him to have been that simple fool he is often represented. When the archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle, were sent by parliament in 1253, to present a very strong remonstrance against uncanonical and forced elections to vacant sees;

Character
of Henry
III.

¹¹⁷ M. West. p. 401. T. Wykes, p. 98.

¹¹⁸ M. Paris, p. 680.

A.D. 1272. "It is true," replied he, "I have been somewhat
 "faulty in that particular: I obtruded you, my
 "lord of Canterbury, upon your see: I was obliged
 "to employ both entreaties and menaces, my
 "lord of Winchester, to get you elected, when
 "you should have been rather sent to school: my
 "proceedings were indeed very irregular and vio-
 "lent, my lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, when I
 "raised you from the lowest stations to your pre-
 "sent dignities. It will become you therefore, my
 "lords, to set an example of reformation, by re-
 "signing your present benefices, and try to ob-
 "tain preferment in a more regular manner"¹¹⁹."

But this prince was much more defective in personal courage than in understanding; and, as appears from the whole course of his history, as well as from many anecdotes, was of a very cowardly and timorous nature. In the year 1258, when the royal authority was much eclipsed, and the earl of Leicester was in his glory, the king, in going to the tower by water, was overtaken in a storm of thunder and lightning, with which he was greatly terrified, and ordered his barge to be put ashore at the first landing-place. But being met by the earl of Leicester at his landing, his terrors redoubled, and he exhibited all the marks of the greatest consternation in his countenance, which made the earl observe, that the storm was now over, and he had no further reason to be afraid; to which the king replied, "I am indeed beyond measure afraid of thunder

¹¹⁹ M. Paris, p. 579.

"and

“ and lightning ; but, by God’s head, I fear thee
 “ more than all the thunder in the universe ¹²⁰.”

A.D. 1272.

Henry was still more destitute of the noble virtues of sincerity in making, and fidelity in observing, his engagements, than he was of courage. Whenever he was hard pushed by the discontented barons, he submitted to any terms they thought fit to prescribe, and confirmed them by all the most awful oaths and solemnities they could devise ; but the moment he thought he could do it with safety, he violated all his promises and oaths without hesitation, satisfying himself with the absolution of his good friend the pope, which he easily obtained. This wicked prevarication was not more odious than it was pernicious to his affairs, and obliged the barons to proceed to much greater extremities than otherwise they would have done, plainly perceiving that nothing could make him keep his promises, but putting it out of his power to break them. But the most singular feature in this prince’s character was his incorrigible partiality and affection to foreigners, which attended him through his whole life, and occasioned infinite vexations to himself and his subjects. No sooner was one set of these foreign favourites driven from the royal presence, by attacks which shook the throne itself, than others took their place, and were cherished with equal fondness, and displaced with equal difficulties and dangers. It is highly probable, that these foreigners, having their fortunes to make, were much more

¹²⁰ M. Paris, p. 656.

A.D. 1272.

supple and insinuating, and more ready to comply with all his humours, than the English barons, conscious of their own power and importance. The piety of this prince is much extolled by the monkish writers of those times¹²¹. He was no doubt a very useful and liberal son to his holy father the pope, whom he assisted with all his might in fleecing his unhappy subjects. He was also a most devout worshipper of rusty nails and rotten bones, particularly those of his favourite, Saint Edward the Confessor, which he placed in a shrine of gold, adorned with precious stones¹²². One of the most commendable parts of this prince's character is hardly ever mentioned by our historians, his love of the arts; for the encouragement of which he expended great sums of money¹²³. It must further be owned, that he was a very warm and generous, though not a very constant friend, a faithful husband, and an affectionate parent.

His children.

Henry III. left two sons; Edward his successor, and Edmund surnamed *Crouch-back*, titular king of Sicily, and earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, and high steward of England; and two daughters; Margaret, married to Alexander III. king of Scots, and Beatrix, married to John duke of Brittany¹²⁴.

History of Scotland.

As Alexander II. king of Scotland had been induced to enter into the confederacy with prince

¹²¹ Erat bestialis homo, sed religiosus. Chron. Mailros, p. 242. M. Paris, p. 680.

¹²² T. Wykes, p. 88.

¹²³ See chap. 4. of this book.

¹²⁴ M. Paris, p. 679.

Lewis of France, and the revolted barons, by the prospect of obtaining possession of the three northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland; as soon as that prospect vanished, by the defeat of the confederates at Lincoln, 25th May A. D. 1217, he began to think of making peace with the young king Henry III. which, after some time spent in negotiation, was concluded¹²⁵. By one article of this treaty, it was stipulated, that the king of Scotland should marry the princess Joan, the eldest sister of the king of England; and their nuptials (after some delays, occasioned by the detention of the princess in France) were celebrated 25th June A. D. 1221¹²⁶.

A. D. 1217.
Alexander II.

This peace and marriage put a stop to all hostilities between the two nations for several years, and introduced a friendly intercourse between the two royal families, now so nearly related. The king and queen of Scotland made frequent visits to the court of England; where they were nobly entertained, and received many valuable proofs of friendship from their royal brother¹²⁷. This external tranquillity gave Alexander leisure to suppress a dangerous insurrection in Argyle, A. D. 1222, and to punish the people of Caithness for the murder of their bishop, whom they had burnt to death in his own house¹²⁸. The internal peace

A. D. 1221.
Peace with England.

¹²⁵ M. Paris, p. 204. Fœd. tom. 1. p. 224. Chron. Mel. p. 155.

¹²⁶ M. Paris, p. 216. Rym. Fœd. tom. 1. p. 240.

¹²⁷ Ford. l. 9. c. 37. M. Paris, p. 250. Chron. Mel. p. 203.

Rym. Fœd. t. 1. p. 379. 379.

¹²⁸ Ford. l. 9. c. 34-37.

A.D. 1221. of the kingdom was again disturbed, A. D. 1229, by Gillefscop, a turbulent baron in the north, who was at last defeated and slain ¹²⁹.

Disputes
with Hen-
ry.

Though the intimate relation and pacific dispositions of the two British monarchs prevented an open rupture, there were still several subjects of dispute between them, which now and then occasioned some disquiet. On the one hand, Henry sometimes discovered a disposition to revive the claim of homage from the king of Scotland, which had been given up by Richard I.; and on the other hand, Alexander still insisted on his claim to the three northern counties of England ¹³⁰. This dispute was determined, A. D. 1237, by the mediation of the pope's legate; and Alexander accepted of certain lands in Northumberland and Cumberland, in lieu of all his claims ¹³¹.

Death of
the queen.

Joan queen of Scotland, who had contributed so much to the peace of her family and her country, died 4th March A. D. 1238, without having had any children, and Alexander married a French lady, Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci, 15th May A. D. 1239 ¹³².

Quarrel
with Eng-
land pre-
vented.

Though the friendship between the two monarchs was not immediately dissolved when the great bond of union was removed, yet it gradually declined, and national jealousies revived,

¹²⁹ Ford. l. 9. c. 47.

¹³⁰ Rym. Fœd. t. 1. p. 334, 335, 374, &c.

¹³¹ See Lord Hailes's most accurate Annals of Scotland, vol. 1. p. 133.

¹³² Chron. Mel. p. 203, 204.

After some time spent in mutual complaints and accusations, both princes raised armies and prepared for war, A. D. 1244¹³³. But that was happily prevented, and a peace concluded, by the mediation of Richard earl of Cornwall and other English barons, and Alexander engaged to live in amity with England, and not to assist her enemies, unless the English did him some wrong¹³⁴.

When Alexander was engaged in an expedition against Angus of Argyle, who refused to do homage for certain islands, he was seized with a fever, of which he died in the small isle of Kirarry, 8th July A. D. 1249, in the fifty-first year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign¹³⁵. He was one of the wisest and best princes that ever filled the throne of Scotland: and though he maintained the independency of his crown abroad, and the authority of his government at home, with the greatest steadiness and spirit; yet in doing both he acted with so much temper and integrity, “that (to use the words of a contemporary English historian) he was justly beloved by all the people of England, as well as by his own subjects¹³⁶. He was succeeded by his only son, of the same name, a child in the eighth year of his age.

Alexander III. was both knighted and crowned by the bishop of St. Andrew's, at Scoon, 13th

A.D. 1244.

Death and
character
of Alex-
ander II.Accession
of Alex-
ander III.¹³³ M. Paris, p. 432. 436.¹³⁴ Rym. Fœd, tom. 1. p. 429.¹³⁵ M. Paris, p. 515, 516. Chron. Mailros, p. 219.¹³⁶ M. Paris, p. 436.

July,

A.D. 1244. July, only five days after his father's death ¹³⁷. This precipitation was used to prevent the king of England from interfering in these ceremonies.

His marriage.

Alexander had been betrothed, A. D. 1242, when he was only a year old, to Margaret eldest daughter of Henry III. a princess about the same age; and their nuptials were celebrated with great

A.D. 1251. pomp, at York, 26th December A. D. 1251 ¹³⁸.

On that occasion Alexander did homage to Henry for his possessions in England; but Henry, taking advantage of his youth, and other circumstances, required him to do homage to him for his crown and kingdom of Scotland. To this unseasonable and ungenerous requisition, Alexander, by the advice of his council, returned this prudent answer, "That he had been invited to York to marry the princess of England, not to treat of state affairs; and that he could not take a step of so much importance, without consulting his parliament ¹³⁹."

Civil broils.

Scotland was a scene of much disquiet, and of various revolutions, during the minority of Alexander III. The great men were divided into two parties, the one composed of the powerful family of the Comyns, and their friends; the other of the rest of the nobility and their followers. Robert de Ros and John de Baliol, two of the Comyn party, were regents, and had the young king and queen in their hands, which gave them a great

¹³⁷ Ford. l. 10. c. 1.

¹³⁸ M. Paris, p. 395. 554.

¹³⁹ Id. p. 554, 555.

advantage over their rivals¹⁴⁰. They kept their sovereign and his consort in a kind of confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, without allowing them to cohabit; of which, and some other discourtesies, the queen made bitter complaints. A.D. 1251.

The king of England, being uncle to the king, and father to the queen of Scots, could not be an unconcerned spectator of those transactions. Listening to the complaints of his daughter against the Comyns, he embraced the interests of the opposite party, who had the good fortune to take the castle of Edinburgh by surprise, and set the king and queen at liberty¹⁴¹. To support them, Henry came with an army to the borders of Scotland; but at the same time, August 25, A. D. 1255, he emitted a proclamation, declaring, that he did not design to attempt any thing against the rights and liberties of that kingdom¹⁴². He was visited by the king and queen of Scotland, who spent some time with him, first at Werk castle, and afterwards at Roxburgh. At this last place a plan for the government of Scotland, during the king's minority, was settled, 20th September. A.D. 1255. By this plan the Comyns and their friends were dismissed from the council, and deprived of all their places, and the administration was committed to fifteen of the chiefs of the opposite party¹⁴³.

¹⁴⁰ M. Paris, p. 609. Chron. Dunst. p. 317.

¹⁴¹ Chron. Mailros, p. 220.

¹⁴² Rym. Fœd. tom. 2, p. 562. ¹⁴³ Id. ibid. p. 566, 567.

A.D. 1255.

Alexander
visits the
court of
England.

The tranquillity of their kingdom being thus restored, the young king and queen, attended by a retinue of 300 horse, visited the court of England in August A. D. 1256; and on September 2, Alexander obtained a grant of the earldom of Huntingdon from his father-in-law ¹⁴⁴. As a further mark of his affection, Henry issued orders to all his military tenants in the five northern counties, to assist the king of Scotland with all their forces ¹⁴⁵.

Broils re-
newed.

The peace of Scotland was of short duration. Gamelin, late chancellor, and bishop-elect of St. Andrew's, a zealous friend of the Comyns, was consecrated by William de Bodington bishop of Glasgow, who was of the same party, in direct opposition to an injunction of those in power. For this act of disobedience, the bishop of St. Andrew's was outlawed, and the revenues of his see were seized. He flew to Rome, and complained to the pope, who espoused his cause so warmly, that he excommunicated all his enemies. The Comyns and their party, taking advantage of this, exclaimed loudly, that the king and government were in the hands of excommunicated persons; and that the kingdom was in danger of being laid under an interdict. Not contented with clamours, they flew to arms, and seized the king and queen at Kinross. They also made an alliance with Lewellyn prince of Wales, who was then (1257) at war with England, and,

¹⁴⁴ M. Paris, p. 626.¹⁴⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 1. p. 605.

carrying

carrying the young king with them, they marched their army to the borders. But Henry having raised an army in the north, a negotiation was set on foot, which produced a kind of coalition of parties, and a regency was formed, consisting of ten persons, four of each party, with the queen-dowager and her second husband, John de Brienne ^{A.D. 1257.}¹⁴⁶.

Though this coalition of parties was probably not very sincere, it produced an external calm, which gave the king and queen of Scotland an opportunity of visiting the court of England, where the queen was delivered of a daughter, named *Margaret*, A. D. 1260 ^{Peace re-}¹⁴⁷.
stored.

Alexander having now arrived at full age, took the reins of government into his own hands, and conducted the affairs both of peace and war with prudence and courage. It was not long before his courage was put to the trial. Haco king of Norway, having collected a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships, embarked with a numerous army and sailed towards Scotland, in summer, A. D. 1263, most probably with an intention to recover such of the western isles as had formerly belonged to his crown, but had been wrested from it by the Scots. He made himself master of the islands of Arran and Bute, and afterwards landed his army on the coast of Cunningham. By this ^{Norwe-}^{gian inva-}^{sion.}

¹⁴⁶ Chron. Mailros, p. 221. M. Paris, p. 644. Rym. Fœd, tom. 1. p. 670.

¹⁴⁷ Rym. Fœd, tom. 1. p. 713. Chron. Mailros, p. 223.

A.D. 1257. time Alexander had raised an army, with which he attacked the bold invaders of his country, at Largs, October 2. The battle was fierce and bloody; but victory at last declaring for the Scots, the greatest part of the invading army fell in the action or in the pursuit. To complete the misfortunes of the Norwegians, their fleet was dissipated, and many of their ships wrecked, by a storm, the day after the battle. Haco reached the Orkneys, where he landed, and soon after died, as it is said, of a broken heart¹⁴⁸. This defeat of the Norwegians was followed by the reduction of almost all the western islands, and the submission of Magnus king of Man, to hold his country of Alexander, and to furnish him with ten galleys, when demanded¹⁴⁹.

A.D. 1264.
Alexander
sends aid
to Henry
III.

Alexander, now enjoying perfect tranquillity at home, sent a choice body of his subjects, under the conduct of John Comyn, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce, to the assistance of his father-in-law Henry III. against his revolted barons. These troops behaved bravely, and suffered much at the battle of Lewes: two of their leaders, John Comyn and Robert Bruce, were made prisoners; but soon obtained their liberty¹⁵⁰.

Western
isles yield-
ed to Scot-
land.

Magnus king of Norway, discouraged by the disaster which had befallen his father, yielded all his rights to the western islands and the isle of

¹⁴⁸ Torfæi. Hist. Norveg. 4. 47. Ford. l. 10. c. 17. Chron. Mailros, p. 224.

¹⁴⁹ Ford. l. 10. c. 18.

¹⁵⁰ M. Paris, p. 669. Hamming, p. 581. Knyght. col. 2447.

Man (A. D. 1266) to the crown of Scotland, ^{A. D. 1257.} for the sum of 4000 marks, to be paid in four years, and a quit-rent of 100 marks yearly¹⁵¹. The Norwegians still retained the Orkney and Shetland islands.

Scotland enjoyed so perfect a peace during the rest of the reign of Alexander III. which falls within this period, that it happily affords few materials for history. It was no small addition to the felicity of this good prince, that his queen was delivered of one son, who was named *Alexander*, A. D. 1263, and of another, who was named *David*, A. D. 1270¹⁵². Great tranquillity.

SECTION II.

The civil and military history of Britain, from the death of Henry III. A. D. 1272, to the death of Edward I. A. D. 1307.

THOUGH Edward I. eldest son of the late king, was at a distance from England when his father died, the greatness of his character secured his peaceable succession, and persons of all ranks swore fealty to him with much alacrity¹. In an assembly of the nobility held on the day after the royal funeral, the archbishop of York, Accession of Edward I.

¹⁵¹ Torfæi Hist. Norveg. vol. 4. p. 343.

¹⁵² Chron. Mailros, p. 225. Boece, l. 13.

¹ Rymeri Fœdera, t. 1. p. 888. Walsingham, p. 34. Westmonst. p. 352.

A.D. 1273. the earls of Cornwall and Gloucester, were chosen regents of the kingdom; and this choice was confirmed in a more full assembly or parliament, in January A. D. 1273.

A.D. 1274.
His coro-
nation.

Edward was in Sicily, on his return from the Holy Land, when he received the news of his father's death, and of his own peaceable accession. Being informed at the same time, of the perfect tranquillity of his dominions, he made no great haste to take possession of the crown. After spending some time at Rome, and other parts of Italy, he visited the court of France, and performed his homage for the territories which he held of that crown. Having suppressed an insurrection in Gascony, and settled some commercial disputes with the earl of Flanders, he embarked for England, landed at Dover, August 2, A. D. 1274, and was crowned at Westminster, on the 19th of the same month, together with his queen Eleanor, the amiable and affectionate companion of his travels².

**First acts
of Ed-
ward's go-
vernment.**

As England at this time enjoyed a profound peace, Edward very wisely seized that favourable opportunity of enquiring into the state of the lands and revenues of the crown; and into the conduct of the sheriffs and other officers, who had both defrauded the king and oppressed the people in the late reign³. He was at no less pains to restore the internal police of the kingdom, and

² T. Walsingham, p. 45, 46. T. Wykes, p. 101.

³ Chron. Dunst. p. 426.

the vigorous execution of the laws, which the late troubles and the feeble administration of Henry had rendered contemptible. By the advice of his parliament, which met at Westminster in May A. D. 1275, many good laws were enacted, which have been ever since distinguished by the name of the *Statutes of Westminster*⁴. But it was not long before Edward was interrupted in these salutary works of peace, and involved in scenes of war.

A.D. 1275.

The only vassal of the crown of England who had made any scruple of paying homage and swearing fealty to Edward at his accession, was Lewellyn prince of Wales. This prince had been several times summoned to come to court, and perform his homage; but, without directly refusing, he still delayed to do this, under various pretences. While Edward was employed in regulating the internal state of his kingdom, he winked at these delays; but that affair being now settled, he determined to bring this powerful and refractory vassal to obedience. The animosity of the prince of Wales against Edward was much increased by an incident which happened about this time. Lewellyn, who had been a faithful ally and zealous friend to the great earl of Leicester, in the days of his prosperity, still continued to cultivate the friendship of that family, after their banishment out of England, and had even entered into a contract of marriage with Eleanor de

Dispute
with the
prince of
Wales.⁴ Coke's 2d Institute, p. 156.

A.D. 1276. Montfort, a daughter of that earl; but the young lady being intercepted on her passage from France to Wales, was detained a prisoner in the court of England⁵. When the prince was again summoned to come and perform his homage, he made bitter complaints of the injury which had been done him, and refused to comply, unless his bride was immediately set at liberty, and the king's son, with several noblemen, were put into his hands as hostages for the safety of his person. This last demand was thought insolent and unreasonable, both by Edward and the English parliament, which met after Easter, A. D. 1276, at Westminster, to consider of this affair. The parliament further declared, that Lewellyn had forfeited his dominions, by refusing to do homage to his superior lord; exhorted Edward to reduce him by force of arms; and for that purpose granted him a fifteenth of the moveables both of the clergy and laity⁶.

A.D. 1277. In consequence of this advice and supply, Edward prepared in good earnest for the conquest of Wales. Every thing being prepared for this expedition, in the spring A. D. 1277, Edward advanced towards Wales at the head of a great army; and with equal caution and courage penetrated into the heart of that country.

Peace with Wales. Lewellyn, as usual, retired with his army into the mountains of Snowden; but here he was soon assaulted by famine, which obliged him to sue to

⁵ Walsingham, p. 46, 47. T. Wykes, p. 104.

⁶ Ann. Waverlien. p. 231.

Edward for peace, which was granted, but on very hard terms. He agreed to pay 50,000 pounds for damages, and the expences of the war; to do homage to the crown of England, and even permit all the barons of Wales to do the same, except four; to give up all the country between Cheffire and the river Conway; and to settle suitable revenues on his two brothers Roderic and David⁷, who had taken shelter in the court of England, and implored the protection of Edward against their own brother⁸.

A.D. 1277.

Though Lewellyn had been reduced to the necessity of submitting to these severe conditions, which hardly left him a shadow of sovereignty; Edward was not very rigorous in exacting the full performance of them. He remitted the payment of the 50,000 pounds⁹; delivered to Lewellyn his betrothed wife; assisted at their marriage; and, conducting the prince to Westminster, he there performed homage to Edward, according to the late treaty, on Christmas day A. D. 1277, in presence of the bishops and barons of England¹⁰.


Lenity of Edward.

The annals of England, in the two next years, are full of the severe punishments which were then inflicted upon the Jews for clipping the coin, and other iniquitous practices¹¹. An order was issued to seize the whole of that people in one day; the 12th November A. D. 1278¹²; and, after a very short trial, two hundred and eighty of them were

A.D. 1278.

Punishment of the Jews.

⁷ T. Wykes, p. 105, 106. Rymer, vol. 2. p. 88.⁸ Trivit. Ann. 1277.⁹ Rymer, vol. 2. p. 92.¹⁰ T. Wykes, p. 106.¹¹ Walsing. p. 48.¹² T. Wykes, p. 107.

A.D. 1278.  hanged in London only, and all their lands, houses, money, and goods, to an immense value, were confiscated ¹³.

**Inquisition
into the
titles of the
barons.**

Edward at the same time employed another method to fill his coffers, and increase the revenues of the crown; by appointing commissioners to examine the titles by which the barons and others held their lands. These commissioners, by a vigorous exertion of their authority, gave great trouble and vexation to many, brought a great deal of money into the exchequer, by fines and compositions for defective titles, and added many estates to the royal demesnes. But a stop was put to their career by the boldness of the earl of Warren; who appearing before these commissioners, and being desired to produce the instruments by which he held his estate, drew an old rusty sword out of its scabbard: "This," says he, "is the instrument by which my ancestors gained their estate, and by which I will keep it as long as I live." This answer being reported to Edward, he became sensible of the impropriety of pushing this inquisition any further, and wisely revoked the commission ¹⁴.

**War with
Wales.**

But it was not long before Edward was called again into the fields of war; in which indeed he too much delighted. Lewellyn prince of Wales and his subjects were very uneasy in that state of subjection to which they were reduced; and this uneasiness was much increased by the insolence of the victorious English settled in the conquered

¹³ M. West. p. 367.

¹⁴ Ann. Waverlien. p. 235.

country

country between Cheffire and the river Conway; and by the haughtiness of the lords marchers, who slighted all the complaints of the Welsh¹⁵. David, brother of Lewellyn, dissatisfied with Edward, inflamed the resentment of his brother, and exhorted him to make another brave effort to shake off the English yoke, and recover the ancient freedom and independence of his country. Accordingly in the spring A. D. 1281, the Welsh flew to arms, and made inroads upon the English territories. Their first attempts were crowned with success: they took the lord Clifford prisoner, and gained some other slight advantages over the troops which were sent to oppose them¹⁶.

A.D. 1281.

Edward was not ill pleased with this fresh insurrection of the Welsh, as it furnished him with a plausible pretence for making a total conquest of their country. In order to this, he summoned his barons and military tenants to meet him at Worcester about Midsummer; and having collected a great army from all parts of his dominions, he advanced towards Wales¹⁷. Lewellyn, unable to face so great a force in the open field, retired into the fastnesses of Snowden, whither he was followed by Edward, who seizing all the passes, resolved once more to reduce the Welsh by famine. As he imagined this would be a work of some time, he gave the command of the army to Roger Morti-

A.D. 1282.
Conquest
of Wales.¹⁵ Powel's History, p. 344, &c.¹⁶ Walsing. p. 49. Annal. Waverlien. p. 234.¹⁷ M. West. p. 411. T. Wykes, p. 110.

A.D. 1282. mer, and, retiring to the castle of Rudhlan, quietly waited the event. But the affair was brought to a speedier issue than he expected: for the Welsh having defeated a small party of the English who had rashly ventured over from the isle of Anglesey on a bridge of boats, were so much elated with this trifling success, that they left their fastnesses, and attacked the English in the open plain. They paid very dear for their presumption; for they received a total defeat, on the 11th December A. D. 1282, Lewellyn himself, and two thousand of his men, being left dead on the field of battle¹⁸. Prince David made his escape, and skulked about the country for some time in various disguises; but being betrayed and taken prisoner, he was conducted to Shrewsbury, tried by his peers (probably as earl of Derby), condemned and executed as a traitor¹⁹. His head (with that of his brother) was exposed to public view on the walls of the tower of London, and his quarters sent to York, Bristol, Northampton, and Winchester. In this cruel manner did Edward shed the blood of the last of the ancient sovereigns of Wales, derived from so long a line of princes²⁰.

Effects of
that conquest.

After this decisive victory, and the death of their princes, the Welsh made no further resistance; but tamely, though not without much inward sorrow

¹⁸ Powell's Hist. Wales.

¹⁹ T. Wykes, p. 111.

²⁰ Knyghton, col. 2465. T. Walsing. p. 50, 51, 52. Chron. Trivet. an. 1281, 82, 83. Annal. Waverlien. p. 235, &c. Hemmingford, t. 1. p. 7. 13.

and

and reluctance, submitted to the English yoke; ^{A.D. 1183.} and an end was put to that long and bloody quarrel between the English and ancient Britons, which had subsisted more than eight centuries. This, however shocking it was to the brave and independent spirits of the Welsh, was a very happy event, as it put a stop to those torrents of blood, and scenes of desolation, occasioned by the mutual enmity of the two nations; and as it made way for the introduction of the English laws, learning, and arts, into Wales. Some years after the conquest of Wales, Edward bestowed the title of *Prince of Wales* on his eldest son Edward, which hath ever since been the title of the eldest sons of the kings of England.

The final reduction of Wales produced a profound peace, which continued several years without the least interruption, and gave Edward leisure to make further improvements in the laws and government of England, which will be taken notice of in their proper place²¹. Peace.

Since the accession of Edward to the throne of England, he had been several times called upon to attend the kings of France as one of their vassals, by virtue of his territories on the continent; but being engaged at home, he had sent excuses; which were admitted. Being now at leisure, and receiving a summons from Philip the Fair, who had lately mounted the throne of France, to come and perform his homage, and being also

Edward
spends
three years
in France.

²¹ Chap. 3.

A.D. 1286. chosen mediator between the competitors for the crown of Sicily, he resolved to visit the continent. Having appointed the earl of Pembroke regent of the kingdom, he set sail for France on the 24th June A. D. 1286²², attended by several English bishops and barons. The transactions of Edward, during his long residence abroad, belong more properly to the history of his foreign dominions than to that of England. It is enough to say, that he was chiefly employed in prosecuting some claims which he had to certain territories in France, as heir to his mother Eleanor of Provence, and in putting an end, by his mediation, to the long and bloody dispute between the houses of Anjou and Aragon about the crown of Sicily; and that in both these affairs he acted with great wisdom, honour, and success. He was by these things, however, detained rather more than three years in France, and did not arrive in England till the 12th of August A. D. 1289²³.

A.D. 1289. Edward's long absence from England had been attended with many inconveniencies. It had encouraged the Welsh, not yet well reconciled to the English government, to raise an insurrection, which was suppressed with some difficulty. The kingdom was a scene of much violence and confusion; particularly one Thomas Chamberlain, a gentleman of desperate fortunes (in conjunction with several other desperadoes), was guilty of a most out-

Conse-
quences
of the
king's ab-
sence.

²² M. West, p. 412.

²³ T. Wykes, p. 118. Hemmingford, p. 14. Annal. Waverlien. p. 239.

rageous

rageous act of villany, by setting fire to the town of Boston in Lincolnshire, in the time of a great fair, and plundering the merchants and townsmen of money and goods to an immense value, in the confusion occasioned by the fire. Chamberlain was taken and hanged; but could not be prevailed upon to discover any of his accomplices²⁴. The very fountains of justice were polluted, and loud complaints were made of the corruption and venality of the judges. The king, soon after his return, called a parliament to examine these complaints; which were found to be true. Sir Thomas Weyland, the chief justiciary, being found guilty, was banished the kingdom; the other judges of both benches, of the Jews, of the forests, the justices itinerant, several sheriffs and bailiffs, and others concerned in the administration of justice, being also found guilty, were fined, according to the degrees of their demerits, or their wealth; which fines are said to have brought no less than one hundred thousand marks into the royal treasury²⁵. The Jews, too, seem to have taken occasion, from the king's absence, and the venality of the judges, to push their exactions to a greater length than ever; for the cry against them was now become so vehement and universal, that the parliament assembled at Westminster on the 14th of January[•] A. D. 1290, came to a resolution to banish the whole race of these greedy and usurious Israelites out of the kingdom. In consequence of

A.D. 1289.

A.D. 1290.

²⁴ Heming. vol. 1. p. 16, 17.²⁵ T. Wykes, p. 121.

this

A.D. 1290. this resolution, all their real estates were confiscated, and no fewer than fifteen thousand Jews were at this time expelled from England ²⁶.

The long
peace be-
tween
England
and Scot-
land ter-
minated.

The kingdoms of England and Scotland had continued many years in the most perfect peace and harmony. The two royal families, strictly united by the ties of blood, had maintained a constant intercourse of friendly visits and mutual good offices;—the coin of each kingdom had been current in the other, and the merchants had enjoyed the greatest freedom of trade in both. But this happy period of peace and harmony was now near an end, and was succeeded by the most fierce and lasting animosities, and a long series of cruel and destructive wars, which brought many calamities on both kingdoms. In order to discover the fatal source of these national animosities and wars, it will be necessary to take a view of some events which had lately happened in Scotland.

Occasion
of this
rupture.

Alexander III. king of Scots, who was killed on the 19th of March 1286, by a fall from his horse, near Kinghorn, left no children, and but one grandchild, a female, an infant, and in a foreign country. This was Margaret, the only child of Alexander's daughter of the same name, late queen of Norway, the undoubted heiress of the crown of Scotland, and recognized as such by the states of that kingdom, which met about three weeks after the king's death. The same convention of estates made choice of six noblemen to be

²⁶ T. Wykes, p. 122.

regents of the kingdom during the absence of their young queen, then only about three years of age ²⁷. For some time these regents acted with wisdom and unanimity, and their government gave universal content; but the earl of Buchan, one of the regents, dying, and the earl of Fife, another of them, being murdered, disputes arose among the remaining four; and every thing tended to confusion. Eric king of Norway, hearing of these distractions, began to be apprehensive for the interests of his daughter, the queen of Scotland; and in order to secure to her the possession of that crown, he applied by ambassadors to Edward king of England, her grand uncle, for his assistance and protection ²⁸. This application was very agreeable to Edward; who had already formed a scheme for uniting the two British kingdoms, by the marriage of his eldest son Edward with the young queen of Scots; and had even privately procured a dispensation from the pope for that purpose. Conferences were held at Salisbury between the ambassadors of the king of Norway, some of Edward's ministers, and plenipotentiaries from the regency of Scotland; in which all the preliminaries for the young queen's voyage into her dominions were settled ²⁹.

Edward, thinking all things now ripe for opening his grand scheme, sent a very honourable embassy to the parliament of Scotland, met at Brightham, near Kelso, on the 18th of July 1290, to

A.D. 1290.

Marriage between prince Edward and the infant queen of Scotland negotiated.

²⁷ Buchan, Hist. Scot. l. 8. p. 132. Rymeri Fœd. t. 2. p. 266. 272. 324. 327. 339.

²⁸ Rymeri Fœd. t. 2. p. 416.

²⁹ H. Boeth. p. 191. Rymeri Fœdera, vol. 2. p. 431, &c.

A.D. 1290. make a formal demand of their young queen in marriage with his son, and with full powers to settle all the conditions of the marriage. The parliament of Scotland readily agreed to the marriage, as advantageous to both kingdoms; but, in settling the conditions, they took every possible precaution to preserve the independency of their country, and to guard against every danger that might arise from so strict an alliance with such a powerful and ambitious neighbour. It was agreed, That the Scots should enjoy all their ancient laws, liberties, and customs:—That in case Edward and Margaret should die without issue of the body of Margaret, the kingdom of Scotland should revert, free, absolute, and independent to the next heir:—That in case Edward should die before Margaret without issue by her, the body of Margaret should be remitted to Scotland free and independent:—That the military tenants of the crown, and other subjects, should not be obliged to go out of Scotland, to do homage, to swear fealty, to elect or to be elected to any office, or to do any service that had been usually performed in Scotland:—That the kingdom of Scotland should have its chancellor, officers of state, courts of justice, &c. as before:—That a new great seal should be made, and kept by the chancellor, with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the queen of Scotland engraved upon it:—That all papers and records belonging to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, should be lodged in a secure place within that kingdom, under the seals of the nobility:—That
all

all parliaments called to treat of the affairs of Scotland, should be held within that kingdom:—That no duties, taxes, or levies of men, should be raised in Scotland, but such as had been usual:—That the king of England should pay the pope one hundred thousand pounds, for the use of the holy wars:—and, That himself and his dominions should be excommunicated, and laid under an interdict, if he did not religiously observe all these articles³⁰. These articles were agreed to and confirmed by Edward: and as this is the first plan which was formed for the union of the British crowns, it is a great curiosity. The Scots in these times are represented by some of our historians as an ignorant and barbarous people; but it is hard to say what better precautions could have been taken by the wisest nation, in the most enlightened age, for securing the freedom and independency of their country.

A.D. 1290.

All these preliminaries being settled to the mutual satisfaction of both nations, Sir Michael Scot and Sir David Weems were sent as commissioners from Scotland to Norway, to receive the young queen, and conduct her into her own dominions³¹. But when all Britain was big with expectation of the arrival of this princess, who was to be the bond of lasting peace and union, a rumour of her death was first heard, and afterwards more certain intelligence was received, that she had died in Orkney, where, being sick, she had landed³².

Death of
the infant
queen of
Scotland.

³⁰ Rymer, vol. 2. p. 482, 483, 484.

³¹ Buchan. Hist. Scot. l. 8. p. 132.

³² M. Westmonst. p. 381. W. Heming. t. 1. p. 30.

A.D. 1290.

Fatal consequences of her death.

It will be difficult to find in history the death of any one person attended with more fatal consequences than that of this infant queen. It dissipated in a moment all the pleasing hopes of peace and union, and entailed long and bloody wars upon both the British kingdoms, which brought the weakest of them to the very brink of ruin.

A.D. 1291.

Death of queen Eleanor.

Edward, in the course of the late negotiations, had gained a very powerful party in Scotland, and, amongst others, Frazer, bishop of St. Andrew's, one of the regents, from whom he received the earliest intelligence of the young queen's death, with an advice to raise an army and approach the borders. He readily complied with this advice, which was so agreeable to his own secret views. But as he was conducting his army towards Scotland, he met with a very grievous affliction by the death of his beloved queen Eleanor, the faithful partner of all his cares and joys, and companion of all his travels. Ambition on this occasion yielded to tenderness and grief: he suspended his expedition, to accompany the remains of his queen, from Grantham in Lincolnshire, where she died, to Westminster, where she was interred with great funeral pomp³³.

Edward chosen judge in the dispute about the crown of Scotland.

In the mean time Scotland was a scene of great confusion. The two chief competitors for the crown, John Baliol and Robert Bruce, were eagerly employed in strengthening their parties and preparing their forces to assert their claims. It

³³ M. Westmonst. p. 381. T. Walsing. p. 54, 55.

soon became visible to all the world, that this dispute could not be terminated within the kingdom without a fierce and destructive civil war. To avoid this the regents, the states, and even the competitors, agreed to refer this great controversy to Edward king of England; who had always professed the greatest respect and affection for the Scotch nation; who had lately acquitted himself with so much honour as an umpire between the competitors for the crown of Sicily; and who had power sufficient to put his sentence in execution. The bishop of St. Andrew's was sent into England, to inform Edward of this reference, and intreat him to take upon him the office of an umpire between the competitors for the crown of Scotland ³⁴.

A.D. 1291.

This office Edward accepted with the greatest pleasure, and managed with the most admirable policy; never disclosing his designs till he was almost secure of their success, and through the whole proceedings observing all the external shews and forms of justice, however much the essentials of it were violated.

Edward's
artful conduct.

In consequence of his office of arbitrator, he summoned the states of Scotland, and the competitors for the crown, to meet him at Norham, a small town on the south banks of the Tweed, a few miles from Berwick; and that they might not hesitate at passing that river, he made a declaration,

Assembly
at Nor-
ham.

³⁴ Buchanan, l. 8. p. 134.
ming. t. 1. p. 32, 33.

Fordun, l. 11. c. 42. W. He-

A.D. 1291. that it should not be drawn into precedent³⁵.
Edward came to the place of meeting, attended
by a splendid court and powerful army.

Edward
claims the
superiority
of Scot-
land.

When all were assembled, on the 10th of May
A.D. 1291, Roger Brabazon, chief justiciary of
England, made a speech to the states of Scotland;
in which, after a very smooth exordium, he told
them, that king Edward was come to determine
the great cause concerning the crown of Scotland,
in virtue of his right of superiority and direct do-
minion over that kingdom, and required that this
right should be immediately recognised, and so-
lemnly acknowledged, by the states, as the first
step to be taken. The states, greatly astonished
at this unexpected demand, asked some time to
consider of it, and were allowed till the next
day.

Grounds
of that
claim.

Edward had been at great pains in collecting
arguments in support of his pretensions to the
superiority over Scotland, which he hoped would
soon draw after it the possession of that kingdom.
A paper, containing these arguments, was read to
the assembly at Norham. But after all the pains
which he had taken, that paper hath appeared to
many a very weak performance, more like the
work of a chicaning attorney than of a great
king. It consists chiefly of scraps out of abbey
chronicles, and other English histories, many of
them very unfairly quoted, enumerating all the
defeats which the Scots had received from the

³⁵ Rymer, vol. 2. p. 528. Fordun, l. 11. c. 10.

English,

English, and all the disadvantageous treaties which they had made with them; together with a minute recapitulation of all the homages which had been paid by the kings of Scotland to the kings of England; though all the world knew, that these homages had been paid for the lands which the Scotch kings possessed or claimed in England, and not for the kingdom of Scotland. Edward was not even ashamed to mention the legendary stories of Brute and his sons, and of king Athelstan's cutting a yard deep with his sword into a rock near Dunbar, by the assistance of his good friend St. John of Beverley, as proofs of the superiority of the kings of England over Scotland³⁶. He insisted at great length on the homage performed by William the Lion, king of Scots (when he was a prisoner), to Henry II. for the whole kingdom of Scotland, as one condition of his being set at liberty; but, with the greatest dissimulation, he took no notice of the renunciation of that homage and superiority granted by Richard I. to the same king William³⁷. It had been easy for the states of Scotland to have answered these weak arguments, if they had been at liberty; but they were entirely in the power of Edward; and therefore, at the meeting on the 11th of May, they earnestly requested a longer delay, that they might have an opportunity of consulting with the other bishops

A.D. 1191.

³⁶ Walsing. p. 81. Knyghton, col. 2484, &c.

³⁷ Prynn, vol. 3. p. 489. Rymer. Fœd. t. 2. p. 559. Walsing. p. 55, 56.

A.D. 1297. and barons who were absent, about a matter of so great importance. With much difficulty they obtained a delay of three weeks; and Edward appointed them to meet him again at the same place on the 2d day of June.

Edward's
superiority
acknow-
ledged.

In the mean time Edward was not idle, but employed every method in his power to strengthen his party in Scotland, and both by threats and promises to bring as many as possible to acknowledge his superiority³⁸. According to appointment, the guardians of Scotland, with the competitors for the crown, and many barons and prelates, met, on the 2d of June, in a plain opposite to the castle of Norham, where Edward then lay. The bishop of Bath and Wells, chancellor of England, was sent by Edward to represent him in that meeting, and report the result of their deliberations. Some of the Scots barons represented, that the question concerning the superiority of England could not properly be determined until Scotland had a king, his honour and interest being so much concerned³⁹. But the competitors for the crown, afraid of offending Edward, by disputing a point which they saw he was resolved to carry, consented to acknowledge the superiority of the crown of England over the crown and kingdom of Scotland; and, by their influence and example, brought the rest of the states to acknowledge the same, or to remain silent⁴⁰. Edward was not even contented with this acknowledgment, but obliged all the

³⁸ Hemingford, vol. 1. p. 33.

³⁹ Walsing. p. 56.

⁴⁰ Rymer, vol. 2. p. 548.

competitors to give him letters-patent, under their hands and seals, owning his superiority, and promising to submit to his decision⁴¹. Thus did Edward, by his power and policy, gain this great point, on which his heart was very much set, and with which he was greatly delighted. How short-sighted is the greatest human wisdom! Little did this prince imagine, that, instead of entailing the superiority of a kingdom, he was entailing nothing but a bloody and destructive quarrel, on his country and his posterity.

A.D. 1291.

No sooner had Edward succeeded in his first pretension, than he disclosed another. That he might have a kingdom to bestow on the person to whom it should be adjudged, he demanded to have all the royal castles and places of strength in Scotland put into his hands; and this demand was granted⁴².

Edward demands and obtains the castles.

The king of England, having thus obtained every thing he could desire, proceeded to take some steps towards the decision of this great cause, and to determine which of the competitors had the best right to the crown of Scotland. These competitors were now multiplied to the number of thirteen; some of them probably stirred up by Edward, in order to perplex the cause, and others perhaps prompted by their own vanity. The names of these competitors were as follows: John Baliol lord

Competitors for the crown of Scotland.

⁴¹ Rymer, vol. 2. p. 579. Heming. t. 1. p. 33, 34. Walsing.
p. 56, 57.

⁴² Rymer, vol. 2. p. 556.

A.D. 1291. of Galloway, Robert Bruce earl of Annandale, John Hastings lord of Abergavenny, Florence earl of Holland, Eric king of Norway, Robert Dunbar earl of March, John Cummin earl of Badenoch, William de Vefey, Robert de Pinkeny, Nicolas de Soules, Patrick Galyhtly, Roger de Mandevile, Robert de Rofs⁴². The titles of the ten last of these competitors were either derived from bastard branches of the royal family, or so trifling or ill supported, that they do not deserve a place in history. The three first were the only persons who had any plausible pretensions: and in order to understand the foundations of their respective claims, it will be necessary to take a view of a part of the genealogy of the royal family of Scotland.

Claims of
the chief
competi-
tors.

Henry prince of Scotland died before his father king David, and left three sons, Malcolm, William, and David. Malcolm succeeded his grandfather David, and died without issue. William succeeded his brother Malcolm, and left issue; but his posterity were now extinct, the last of them being Margaret of Norway, the late infant queen of Scotland. It is undeniable, therefore, that the crown of Scotland was now devolved to the posterity of prince David, younger brother of the kings Malcolm and William. David had been earl of Huntington in England, and left three daughters, Margaret, Isabella, and Ada. Margaret, the eldest daughter of earl David, married Allan lord of Galloway, by whom she had an only

⁴² Walsing. p. 56.

daughter,

daughter, Dervorgilla, married to John Baliol, by whom she had John Baliol, the competitor; who, according to this account, was great-grandson to David earl of Huntingdon, by his eldest daughter. Isabella, the second daughter of earl David, married Robert Bruce, by whom she had Robert Bruce, the competitor, who was grandson to the earl of Huntingdon by his second daughter. Ada, third and youngest daughter of earl David, married John Hastings, by whom she had John Hastings, the competitor, who was grandson to that earl by his youngest daughter. Hastings could have no pretensions to the whole succession of David earl of Huntingdon while the posterity of his two elder daughters were in being; all he pretended to therefore was, that the kingdom of Scotland should be divided into three parts, and that he should inherit one of them, as heir to one of the three daughters of earl David. But the kingdom being declared impartible, the pretensions of Hastings were excluded, and there remained only two competitors, Baliol and Bruce. Baliol claimed the whole kingdom of Scotland, as heir to David earl of Huntingdon by his eldest daughter; but Bruce pleaded, that though he was descended from the second daughter; yet, being grandson to the earl of Huntingdon, he ought to be preferred before Baliol, who was only great-grandson to that earl. The whole controversy, therefore, between these two chief competitors turned upon this hinge; Whether the more remote by one degree, descended from the eldest daughter, or the nearer

A.D. 1291.

A.D. 1291. by one degree, descended from the second daughter, had the best title? To examine this, and every other question that might arise in this cause, it was agreed, that John Baliol and Robert Bruce should each name forty commissioners, to whom Edward might add twenty-four; which commissioners should sit at Berwick, and report their opinion to Edward, who was finally to judge, and pronounce sentence⁴⁴.

A.D. 1292.
Determination in
favour of
John
Baliol.

These commissioners, appointed to examine the merits of this great cause, met at Berwick, for the first time, on the 2d of August A. D. 1292; and after three months spent in various meetings and deliberations, they gave their opinion in favour of Baliol. All things being now ripe, Edward appointed the 17th of November for pronouncing his award and judgment; and accordingly on that day, in the great hall of the castle of Berwick, in presence of all the prelates, earls, barons, and great men, of both kingdoms, he adjudged the crown and kingdom of Scotland to John Baliol⁴⁵. But this unhappy prince very soon found, that a dependent crown was no very valuable possession.

Severity of
Edward.

As soon as Edward had thus obtained the superiority of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, he proceeded to exercise it with unrelenting severity, and in its full extent. He obliged king John, on the day after the cause was determined in his favour, to perform his homage, and swear fealty to him and his heirs, kings of England, for the

⁴⁴ Rymer, vol. 2. p. 555.

⁴⁵ Id. *ibid.* 598.

whole kingdom of Scotland: after which he permitted him to go and take possession of his kingdom⁴⁶. But that his royal vassal might not forget his dependency by sitting too long unmolested on his throne, Edward recalled him into England immediately after his coronation, and made him renew his homage and fealty at Newcastle, on St. Stephen's day, A. D. 1292. Besides this, that John might not imagine that this humiliating ceremony was all he had to suffer, Edward hastened to load him with fresh indignities; and in a little more than one year this shadow of a king received no fewer than six citations to appear before the king of England in his parliament, to answer the complaints of several private persons on matters of no great importance⁴⁷.

A.D. 1292.

In consequence of these citations, king John attended Edward in his parliament after Michaelmas A. D. 1293, at Westminster: and when one of the complaints against him came to be tried, he offered to answer by his attorney: but this privilege was not granted him; and, after a long struggle, he was obliged to descend from his seat, and stand at the bar like any common delinquent⁴⁸. Even the tame spirit of Baliol was roused by this affront: he felt the deepest resentment, and secretly resolved to embrace the first favourable opportunity of throwing off a yoke which was become intolerable. It was not long before a very promising opportunity offered.

A.D. 1293.
Indignity
offered to
the king of
Scotland.

⁴⁶ Rymer. Foed. tom. 2. p. 593.
p. 605—616.

⁴⁷ Rymer, vol. 2.

⁴⁸ Ryley Placet. Parl. p. 152, 153.

While

A.D. 1293.

War with
France.

While Edward was eagerly pursuing his designs on Scotland, an accidental scuffle happened between the crews of an English and French ship, about a spring of fresh water near Bayonne. This scuffle, in which a French sailor was killed, being reported in both countries, became a national quarrel, and produced a kind of piratical war, trifling indeed in its beginnings, but very bloody and destructive in its progress. A fleet of two hundred Norman ships, sailing towards the south, seized all the English ships which they met with in their passage, hanged the crews, and made prize of the cargoes. The inhabitants of the cinque-ports hearing of this, fitted out a fleet of sixty stout ships, well manned, and waited for the enemy in their return. The two fleets met; and after an obstinate struggle the English obtained a complete victory, and took or destroyed the greatest part of the French fleet. As no quarter was given, the action was very bloody; and the French, it was pretended, lost 15,000 men⁴⁹.

A.D. 1294.

Edward
summoned
by the king
of France.

The two monarchs being otherwise employed, had not directly intermeddled in this quarrel; but this last affair was too serious to be overlooked. Philip the Fair, king of France, sent ambassadors into England, to demand reparation; and Edward, not willing at this time to break with France, dispatched the bishop of London to that court, with several proposals for an accommodation. But all these proposals were rejected; and the war continuing,

⁴⁹ Walsing. p. 58—60. Heming. t. 1. p. 39, 40, &c.

Philip cited the king of England, as duke of Guienne, to appear before him in his court of Paris⁵⁰. This citation was given to Edward in November A. D. 1294, about a year after he had treated the king of Scotland with so great insolence in his parliament at Westminster: so that while he made the unhappy Baliol feel all the weight of feudal subjection, he was treated with the same haughtiness by his own liege lord, the king of France.

A. D. 1294.

The king of Scotland, seeing every thing tending to a rupture, determined to seize that opportunity of throwing off the English yoke, by entering into a strict alliance with the king of France. In order to this, he sent ambassadors into France, to negotiate a treaty with that crown; which was signed and sealed on the 23d of October A. D. 1295. By this treaty, the kings of France and Scotland agreed to assist one another against their common enemy the king of England, and not to make peace but by common consent⁵¹.

A. D. 1295.
Alliance
between
the kings
of France
and Scot-
land.

Edward did not think fit to obey the citation he had received from France; and yet, unwilling to come to an open rupture with that court, he sent his brother Edmund earl of Lancaster to Paris to negotiate an accommodation. Philip appeared exceedingly incensed against Edward's subjects in Guienne (who had joined with the English), and

Edward
deceived
by the king
of France.

⁵⁰ Walsing. p. 60. Trivet's Annal. an. 1294.

⁵¹ Rymer, vol. 2. p. 680. Prynn's Collect. vol. 3. p. 602, &c.
Heming, t. 1. p. 76, 77.

would

A.D. 1295. would listen to no reasonable terms. But when the earl of Lancaster was ready to depart, the queen-dowager, and the reigning queen of France, interposed their good offices, and proposed, that if Edward would surrender Guienne into the hands of Philip, in order to satisfy his point of honour, it should be immediately restored. The earl of Lancaster, with his brother's consent, signed a treaty with the two queens, on these terms, which was confirmed by the verbal declaration of king Philip, before several witnesses. In consequence of this treaty, the dukedom of Guienne was surrendered to the constable de Nîlle, who took possession of it in the name of the king of France. But when the earl of Lancaster demanded the restoration of that dukedom, according to the treaty with the two queens, he received a flat denial. Edward was again summoned to appear before Philip in his court at Paris; and upon his not appearing, the court declared, he had forfeited Guienne; which was accordingly confiscated⁵². Thus Edward, who had used so many artifices to gain the superiority of Scotland, lost Guienne, his undoubted property, by a shameful fraud.

Edward
prepares
for war.

Though Edward was both ashamed and enraged to be thus outwitted by the court of France, he did not take any hasty step, but acted with his usual prudence. His first care was to collect money to defray the expences of a war with France and Scot-

⁵² Rymer, vol. 2. p. 620, &c. Walsing. p. 61. Heming. t. 1. p. 41, 42.

land,

land, which he saw was unavoidable. In order to this, he seized the large sums of money which had been collected for the holy war, and were deposited in several monasteries⁵³; and his parliaments granted him very large supplies. At one time the clergy granted him one half, the merchants one sixth, and the rest of the laity a tenth, of all their moveables⁵⁴. Besides all this, he violently seized all the wool and hides which were ready for exportation, promising to pay the owners at a convenient time. Edward being, by these and various other means, possessed of the finews of war, determined to carry it on with great vigour.

This wise prince, though greatly irritated against the king of France, on account of his gross prevarication in the affair of Guienne, the invasion of England and burning of Dover, A. D. 1295, and many other injuries, resolved to make his greatest efforts against Scotland. He contented himself, therefore, with sending his brother Edmund with a small army into Guienne to preserve the few places he still possessed in these parts, and to keep the war alive in France, while he resolved to attempt the total conquest of Scotland⁵⁵.

Edward, that he might not want a plausible pretence for invading Scotland, required king John to deliver the castles of Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh, into his hands, as a security for his peace-

A.D. 1295.

Edward delays his invasion of France, in order to conquer Scotland.

A.D. 1296.
War with Scotland.

⁵³ T. Wykes, p. 126. Heming. t. 1. p. 51, 52.

⁵⁴ M. West. p. 394, 395. Walsing. p. 62. Heming. t. 1. p. 53, 54.

⁵⁵ Walsing. p. 63, 64.

A.D. 1296. able behaviour during the war with France⁵⁶. John having concluded the above-mentioned treaty with the king of France, and having also received from the pope an absolution from the oaths of fealty which he had sworn to Edward, refused to comply with this demand; and as a further evidence of his hostile dispositions, he banished all Englishmen out of Scotland. In the spring of the year 1296, Edward began to move northward with his army; and arriving at Newcastle in the beginning of March, he there held a parliament, to which king John received a citation, which he entirely slighted; and hostilities immediately commenced between the two kingdoms⁵⁷.

Advantages of Edward.

The king of England began this war with every advantage that could promise certain and complete success. He excelled in military skill and courage, and conducted a powerful, united people, against a weak dispirited nation, headed by an unpopular and unwarlike prince. To render this match still more unequal, Edward was joined by Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, and his son, of the same name, who was afterwards king of Scotland, with several barons of their party. King John was even so much despised by that part of his subjects who acknowledged his authority, that they did not think fit to trust him with the conduct of the war, but chose twelve guardians, who were to have the chief direction of all affairs⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ Rymer, vol. 2. p. 692. Walling. p. 64.

⁵⁷ Heming. vol. 1. p. 84.

⁵⁸ Id. *ibid.* p. 75.

In the beginning of the war the Scots had some success. Their fleet defeated an English squadron which blocked up Berwick by sea, and sunk sixteen of their ships;—the castle of Werk was betrayed to them by its governor; and a thousand men whom Edward sent to preserve it, falling into an ambush, were cut in pieces;—a small army of Scots broke into Northumberland and Cumberland, plundered the country, and burnt several monasteries, and the suburbs of Carlisle⁵⁹.

A.D. 1296.

Successes
of the
Scots.

But these slight successes were followed by a long train of grievous and irreparable losses. Edward, crossing the Tweed at Coldstream without opposition, invested Berwick; which he took by a stratagem, on the 30th of March, and put all the numerous garrison to the sword⁶⁰. The castle of Roxburgh was soon after surrendered by James, steward of Scotland, who submitted, and swore fealty to Edward. The earl of Warrenne, with a large detachment of the English army, besieged the castle of Dunbar; and the Scots army, which is said to have amounted to 40,000 foot and 500 horse, approaching to raise the siege, a battle was fought near that place, April 27, in which the Scots received a dreadful overthrow, leaving (as the English historians affirm) ten thousand men dead on the field of battle⁶¹. This terrible defeat entirely dispirited the Scots; the castles of Edin-

Greater
victories of
Edward.

⁵⁹ Trivet. p. 288. Heming. t. 1. p. 87, 88. Knyghton, col. 2478, 2479.

⁶⁰ Heming. vol. 1. p. 89—97.

⁶¹ M. West. p. 404. Walsing. p. 67.

A.D. 1296. burgh and Stirling surrendered almost without resistance; and the whole south of Scotland was subdued before Midsummer. Edward, determined to pursue his advantage, directed his march northward, having received a strong reinforcement of Welsh and Irish troops ⁶².

King John
surrenders.

The unfortunate Baliol, after the fatal battle of Dunbar, had retired with the shattered remains of his army beyond the river Tay. But distrusting the fidelity of his own troops, and despairing of making any effectual resistance, he resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of the conqueror. He found means to communicate this resolution to Edward; who sent Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham, to confirm him in his design, and conduct him into his presence; and that artful prelate, encouraging the fallen monarch with hopes of favour, brought him before the king of England, on the 2d of July, at a place called *Strouthbarrack* ⁶³. At this interview, the two kings discovered their real characters, John behaving with the most abject meanness, and Edward with the most unrelenting selfishness. He obliged Baliol to make a solemn surrender, by letters-patent under his hand and seal, of his whole kingdom, and royal dignity, into his hands ⁶⁴; after which he sent him prisoner to the tower of London. This pusillanimous and unfortunate prince had enjoyed so little peace and comfort since his accession

⁶² Heming. vol. 1. p. 96.

⁶³ Hector Boeth. Hist. l. 14.

⁶⁴ Rym. Fœd. t. 2. p. 718. Heming. t. 1. p. 99, &c. Walsing. p. 68.

to the throne, through the continual insults of Edward, and the disaffection of his own subjects, that he seems to have lost all relish for royalty, and never more intermeddled with affairs of government. After remaining some years a prisoner in England, he was sent to his own estate in France, where he died in a private station, at an advanced age⁶⁵.

A.D. 1296.

Edward shewed as little lenity to the kingdom as to the king of Scotland. He sent all the nobility who fell into his hands prisoners into England; he destroyed or took away all the public records; he carried off the regalia, and that fatal chair in which their kings had been crowned, and for which they had such a superstitious veneration; and, in a word, he did every thing in his power to obliterate every monument of their former independency. All the chief offices of the kingdom were bestowed on Englishmen. John de Warrenne earl of Surry was appointed governor, with a sufficient force, as it was believed, to keep the country in subjection: and every thing being settled to his mind, Edward returned with the bulk of his army into England; concluding, that he had made a final conquest of Scotland⁶⁶. But the sequel will show how much he was mistaken.

A.D. 1297.
Severity of
Edward to
the Scots.

While Edward was employed in Scotland, the war in Guienne had languished; but being now at leisure, he resolved to attempt the recovery of that

War with
France.⁶⁵ Rymer, vol. 2. p. 348.⁶⁶ Walsing. p. 68. Trivet. p. 299. Heming. t. 1. p. 103.

A.D. 1297. province with all his power. On this occasion, however, he changed his place of operations; and, instead of sending an army into Guienne, which was remote, he proposed to make a formidable attack upon France from the side of Flanders. In order to this, he concluded treaties with the emperor, the dukes of Austria and Brabant, the earl of Flanders, and several other princes on the continent, who engaged, for certain sums of money, to furnish him with troops for his intended invasion of France ⁶⁷.

Parliament.

The great difficulty was, to find money sufficient to set this great machine in motion. He assembled a parliament, and obtained an eighth of their moveables from the cities and boroughs, a twelfth from the rest of the laity, and, after a long and violent struggle, a fifth from the clergy ⁶⁸.

Edward quarrels with the constable and marshal.

But this haughty prince soon found, that the clergy were not the only persons who dared to dispute his commands; for having appointed Humphrey Bohun high constable, and Hugh Bigod earl marshal of England, to command a small body of troops which he designed to send into Guienne, to create a diversion on that side, these noblemen refused to obey the appointment, alleging they were not obliged to serve but where the king was in person. This refusal brought on a violent altercation between the king and the high constable; in the course of which, Edward, transported with rage,

⁶⁷ M. West. p. 421. Rymer, vol. 2. p. 761.

⁶⁸ M. West. p. 422. Heming t. 5. p. 105—110.

cried out, "By the eternal God, fir earl, you shall A.D. 1297.
 "either go or hang;" to which the other replied,
 with equal fierceness, "By the eternal God, fir
 "king, I will neither go nor hang;" and im-
 mediately left the court, accompanied by the earl
 marshal and thirty other barons ⁶⁹.

Though Edward was a prince of strong passions,
 his great prudence kept them within due bounds;
 and he wisely concealed his resentment against the
 two earls, until they became so haughty that they
 refused to permit the king's officers to raise either
 men or money within their territories ⁷⁰. Even
 then, being intent on his foreign expedition, he
 contented himself with depriving them of their high
 offices, and appointing others in their room ⁷¹.
 That he might leave his other subjects in good
 humour, he made a speech to the nobility, excusing
 his illegal exactions by the necessity of his affairs;
 solemnly promising, that at his return he would
 redress all grievances, and make compensation for
 all their losses; and that he would for the future
 strictly observe the great charter of their liber-
 ties ⁷².

Edward's
modera-
tion.

Having appointed his son prince Edward regent
 of the kingdom, he embarked at Winchelsea, on the
 22d of August A. D. 1297, and three days after
 landed at Sluys, with an army (as some historians
 affirm ⁷³) of 50,000 men. The success of Edward

Expedi-
tion to the
continent.

⁶⁹ Heming. vol. I. p. 112.

⁷⁰ Id. t. I. p. 113.

⁷¹ Heming. t. I. p. 114.

⁷² Id. ibid.

⁷³ Knyghton, fol. 2510.

A.D. 1297. in this expedition was by no means answerable to his immense expences and mighty preparations. His allies, having received his money, were in no haste to furnish him with troops. The inhabitants of the great towns in Flanders were more in the interest of France than of their own sovereign: Philip had already defeated the Flemings in the battle of Furnes, and taken the towns of Lille, St. Omer, Courtrai, and Ypres. In this situation of affairs, and the season far advanced, Edward found he could perform nothing worthy of his great name and high expectations, and was glad to conclude a truce with Philip, and refer all their differences to the arbitration of the pope. Having spent near eight months in this expensive and unfortunate expedition, he returned to England in March A. D. 1298, where his presence was much wanted ⁷⁴.

Revolu-
tion in
Scotland
by Sir
William
Wallace.

If Edward gathered no laurels on the continent in his late expedition, those which he had before gained by the conquest of Scotland were entirely blasted by a very sudden and surprising revolution, which happened in that kingdom in the course of this year. The chief instrument of this great revolution was the celebrated Sir William Wallace, a young gentleman of an ancient family, but small fortune, in the shire of Ayr. Wallace is represented by the Scotch historians as the model of a perfect hero; superior to the rest of mankind in bodily stature, strength, and activity; in bearing

⁷⁴ Rymer, vol. 2. p. 795—819.

cold and heat, thirst and hunger, watching and fatigue; no less extraordinary in the qualities of his mind, being equally valiant and prudent, magnanimous and disinterested, undaunted in adversity, modest in prosperity, and animated by the most ardent and unextinguishable love of his country ^{A.D. 1297.} ⁷⁵. This extraordinary person, having his resentment against the enemies of his country sharpened by some personal affronts, neglected no opportunity of harassing the English; and becoming famous for his daring and successful adventures, he was soon joined by great numbers of his countrymen. The first attempts of this chosen and determined band were crowned with success. Several of the nobility observing this, either secretly-favoured, or openly joined them ⁷⁶.

But this first dawn of success was soon overcast. The earl of Surry, governor of Scotland, collected an army of 40,000 men; which entering Annandale, and marching through the south-west of Scotland, obliged all the barons of these parts to submit, and renew their oaths of fealty ⁷⁷. Wallace, with his followers, unable to encounter so great a force, retired northward, and were pursued by the governor and his army. When the English army reached Stirling, they discovered the Scots encamped near the abbey of Cambuskenneth, on the opposite banks of the Forth. Cressingham, treasurer of

Earl of
Surry's
expedition
into Scot-
land, and
battle of
Stirling.

⁷⁵ Buchanan, Hist. Scot. l. 8. p. 137. Fordun, l. 11. c. 28.

⁷⁶ Heming. vol. 1. p. 118. Trivet. Ann. 1297.

⁷⁷ Heming. p. 122, 123.

A.D. 1297. Scotland, whose covetousness and tyranny had been one great cause of this revolt, earnestly pressed the earl of Surry to pass his army over the bridge of Stirling, and attack the enemy. Wallace, who observed all their motions, allowed as many of the English to pass as he thought he could defeat, when rushing upon them with an irresistible impetuosity, they were all either killed, drowned, or taken prisoners. In the heat of the action, the bridge, which was only of wood, broke down, and many perished in the river; and the earl of Surry, with the other part of his army, were melancholy spectators of the destruction of their countrymen, without being able to afford them any assistance⁷⁸. Such was the violent hatred of the Scots against Cressingham, that finding his dead body on the field of battle, they treated it with the most wanton insults⁷⁹. This severe check, which the English received on the 11th September A.D. 1297, obliged them once more to evacuate Scotland.

Wallace
invades
England.

Wallace, who after this great victory was saluted deliverer and guardian of the kingdom by his followers, pursuing the tide of success, entered England with his army, recovered the town of Berwick, plundered the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, and returned into his own country loaded with spoils and glory⁸⁰.

A.D. 1298. The news of these surprising events being carried to Edward in Flanders, accelerated his return.

Edward
invades
Scotland.

⁷⁸ Heming. vol. 1. p. 127—129. Trivet. Ann. 1297. Walling, p. 73.

⁷⁹ Heming. vol. 1. p. 130.

⁸⁰ Id. ibid. p. 131—136.

After

After his arrival, he issued orders to all the forces of England and Wales to march northward; and having held a parliament at York, about Whitsunday A.D. 1298, and passed several gracious and popular acts, to secure the hearts of his own subjects, he hastened to join his troops at their general rendezvous near Roxburgh⁸¹. Here he found himself at the head of a gallant army, consisting, of 80,000 foot and 7000 horse⁸². A fleet of ships, loaden with provisions, had orders to sail up the frith of Forth as the army advanced⁸³. A.D. 1298.

The Scots were not in a condition to resist so great an army, commanded by so brave a leader. Their country, for several years, had been almost a continued scene of war, in which many of its inhabitants had perished. Some of their nobles were in the English interest, some of them in prison; and those few who had any power or inclination to defend the freedom of their country, were dispirited and divided. In particular, the ancient nobility began to view the power and popularity of William Wallace with a jealous eye; which was productive of very fatal consequences⁸⁴. State of Scotland.

About Midsummer Edward marched from Roxburgh to Berwick, which he entered without opposition; and from thence advanced into the country, by easy marches, taking some castles, and destroying every thing as he proceeded⁸⁵. When he Battle of Falkirk.

⁸¹ Heming. vol. 1. p. 158, 159.⁸² Id. Ibid.⁸³ Walsing. p. 75.⁸⁴ Fordun, l. 11. c. 31.⁸⁵ Heming. t. 1. p. 159, &c.

A.D. 1298. had reached Templeliston, now Kirkliston, his army began to be in so great distress for want of provisions, that he was on the point of marching back to Edinburgh. At this critical moment he received intelligence that the Scotch army were encamped near Falkirk at about eighteen miles distance. The English army then advanced to the fields near Linlithgow, where they lay on their arms all night. Very early in the morning, July 22, Edward, though he had been much hurt in the night by a blow from his horse, put his army in motion, advanced towards the enemy, and found them drawn up in order near the village of Falkirk. Here a battle was fought; the particulars of which are so variously related, that it is hardly possible to investigate the truth. All that can be said with certainty is, that the Scots were defeated with great slaughter, and the English obtained a complete victory with little loss⁸⁶.

Edward's
proceed-
ings after
the battle.

Edward, after this great victory, spent some time at Stirling, for the recovery of his health, while his troops were employed in plundering the country, and burning the towns of Perth and St. Andrew's⁸⁷. He then directed his march westward, and found the castle of Ayr forsaken and burnt by Robert Bruce, who had lately abandoned the English interest. A scarcity of provisions pre-

⁸⁶ Walsing. p. 75, 76. Ypodegm. Neustria, p. 489. Heming. t. 1. p. 163, &c. Trivet. Ann. 1298. M. Westmonst. p. 411. Knyghton, col. 2527. Buchan. Hist. Scot. l. 8. p. 139. Fordun, l. 11. c. 31. 34. J. Major, l. 4. c. 15.

⁸⁷ Heming. t. 1. p. 165.

vented Edward from pursuing Bruce into Galloway, as he intended, and obliged him to march directly through Annandale (where he took the castle of Lochmaben) into England⁸⁸. A.D. 1298.

Edward, before his return from the continent, had concluded a truce with the king of France, and had also referred all his disputes with that prince to the pope⁸⁹. Boniface, who then filled the papal chair, in order to lay a foundation for a lasting peace, proposed, that king Edward should marry Margaret, the sister, and his son prince Edward should marry Isabella, the daughter of the king of France; and that a congress should be held at Montreuil in Picardy, for discussing and settling all disputes between the two monarchs. A peace was accordingly concluded at that place June 9, and ratified by both kings August 3, A. D. 1299; and about a month after Edward married the princess Margaret of France⁹⁰. A.D. 1299.
Edward's
marriage
and peace,
with
France.

While Edward was engaged in these negotiations, the Scots, a little recovered from the confusion into which they had been thrown by their late defeat, had collected some forces, and invested the castle of Stirling. To preserve that important place from falling into their hands, Edward, soon after his marriage, set out to join his army in the north. But when he arrived at Berwick, and proposed to march into Scotland, his great barons refused to follow him, pretending that the season was too far advanced for such an expedition. Stirling
castle be-
sieged and
taken by
the Scots.

⁸⁸ Heming, t. 1. p. 165.⁸⁹ Rymeri Fœd. t. 2. p. 317.⁹⁰ Id. *ibid.* p. 341—347. Heming, t. 1. p. 168—170.

A.D. 1299.

This constrained him to abandon his design, and disband his army, having first sent a permission to the garrison of Stirling castle to surrender on such terms as they could procure ⁹¹.

A.D. 1300.

Edward
invades
Scotland.

Edward, in order to remove the discontents of his barons, which had prevented his intended expedition into Scotland, held a parliament at London, in the time of Lent A. D. 1300; in which he confirmed the famous charters of their liberties, with some additions ⁹². About Midsummer he entered into the west marches of Scotland, at the head of a great army, took some castles, and penetrated into Galloway. Here a petition was presented to him from the guardians and community of Scotland, requesting him to permit their king John Baliol to reign over them in peace, and to allow their nobles to redeem their lands from those Englishmen to whom he had granted them. But he rejected their petition with disdain ⁹³.

The pope
claims the
superiority
of Scot-
land.

A few days after this (August 26), Edward's progress was interrupted by a very remarkable event. The archbishop of Canterbury arrived in the English camp, and presented to the king a bull from the pope; in which his holiness very clearly refuted Edward's pretensions to the superiority over Scotland; but advanced still more impudent and groundless pretensions of his own, affirming, that Scotland did, and always had belonged to the see of Rome; and commanding Edward, if he had

⁹¹ Heming. t. 1. p. 168—170.

⁹² Walsing. p. 71.

⁹³ Id. *ibid*.

any claim to that kingdom, to send commissioners to Rome to plead his cause within six months⁹⁴. Edward's army being at this time distressed by a scarcity of provisions, and the frequent assaults and surprises of their enemies, he marched them back into England, and granted the Scots a truce from October 30, to next Whitsunday⁹⁵.

A.D. 1300.

Though the arguments advanced by the pope in support of his claim to the kingdom of Scotland were in themselves perfectly ridiculous, they gave Edward and his ministers no little trouble. After spending some time in collecting materials for an answer to his holiness, they laid this affair before the parliament, which met at Lincoln January 20, A. D. 1301. The English barons were filled with indignation at the presumption of a foreign priest, in summoning their sovereign before him to plead his cause, and returned a very spirited answer, declaring, that they would not allow their king to submit to such an indignity. This answer, dated at Lincoln, February 12, was signed and sealed by one hundred and four of the temporal barons, in the name of the whole parliament⁹⁶. Edward sent a very long answer to the pope, in his own name; in which he enumerated all his claims to the superiority of Scotland, beginning with that which he derived from his famous predecessor Brutus the Trojan⁹⁷.

Answers of Edward and his parliament to the pope.

⁹⁴ Rymer, t. 2. p. 844—846. Heming, t. 1. p. 172—177.⁹⁵ Rymer, t. 2. p. 868.⁹⁶ Id. ibid. p. 873—875.⁹⁷ Walsing. p. 18—25. Rymer, t. 2. p. 863—888.

A.D. 1300.

Edward
again in-
vades
Scotland.

The truce with the Scots being now expired, Edward, attended by his son the prince of Wales, and a great army, marched into Scotland about Midsummer; but performed nothing that hath obtained a place in history. He spent the winter at Linlithgow, where on January 26, A. D. 1301, he ratified a truce with the Scots, from that time to November 30 of the same year⁹⁸.

A.D. 1302.

The Eng-
lish defeat-
ed at Ros-
lin.

As soon as this second truce ended, Edward sent an army into Scotland, under the command of John de Segrave, one of the most celebrated warriors of that age. But this general having divided his troops into three bodies, which marched at a considerable distance from each other, was defeated near Roslin, February 24, A. D. 1303, by a small army of Scots, commanded by John Comyn, regent of Scotland, and Simon Frazer⁹⁹.

A.D. 1303.

Peace be-
tween
France and
England.

Though the Scots had derived little advantage from their alliance with France, in their struggles for preserving the independency of their country, they still entertained hopes of assistance from that quarter. But these hopes were now entirely blasted, by a treaty of peace that was concluded May 20, A. D. 1303, between the kings of France and England, in which John Baliol and the Scots were not included¹⁰⁰.

Edward, being now disengaged from all his other enemies, seems to have set his whole heart on making a complete conquest of Scotland, which

⁹⁸ Rymer, t. 2. p. 896.
Fordun, l. 12. c. 2.

⁹⁹ Heming. t. 1. p. 197.
¹⁰⁰ Rymer, t. 2. p. 923—928.

had long been the great object of his ambition. A.D. 1303
 With this view, he marched into that country, at the head of so great an army, as deprived that unhappy people of all hopes of success from resistance. Accordingly he met with none till he arrived at Brechin, where Sir Thomas Maul defended the castle against him, till he was killed by a stone discharged from an engine¹⁰¹. After this he conducted his army to the extremity of the province of Moray, and back to Dunfermline, where he spent the winter with his queen and court¹⁰².

In the course of last year, Robert Bruce, and several other barons, had submitted to Edward; and in the beginning of this, John Comyn earl of Badenoch, who had long acted as guardian of Scotland, in the name of his uncle John Baliol, followed their example, together with his friends and followers¹⁰³. All these barons were secured in their lives, liberties, and estates; but subjected to certain pecuniary penalties. A few who had been most active in their opposition were banished for a certain time. The garrison of Stirling castle, the only fortress of the kingdom which had not surrendered, were declared outlaws, in a parliament held at St. Andrew's in April¹⁰⁴.

Edward, in order to finish the conquest of Scotland, made great preparations for the siege of Stirling castle, which he invested immediately after Easter. It was defended about three months against

Siege and
surrender
of Stirling
castle.

¹⁰¹ M. Westmonst. p. 440.

¹⁰² Heming. t. i. p. 205.

¹⁰³ Ryley Placita Parliam. p. 369.

¹⁰⁴ Fordun, l. 22. c. 3.

A.D. 1304. all his efforts, by Sir William Oliphant, and a small garrison, who were at length compelled to surrender at discretion¹⁰⁵. As all the strong places, as well as the chief men of Scotland, had now submitted to Edward, he appointed John de Segrave governor of that kingdom, and set out on his return to England about the end of August¹⁰⁶.

A.D. 1305. Though the renowned William Wallace had long been excluded, by the jealousy of the nobles, from commanding the armies, and influencing the councils, of his country, he still continued to assert its independency, even after all the rest of his countrymen had submitted to superior force. This, together with the remembrance of the many mischiefs which he had done to his English subjects, and perhaps some apprehension that he might again rekindle the flames of war, made Edward employ various means to get possession of his person. In this he at last succeeded. Wallace was surprised, some say betrayed, in one of his lurking-places near Glasgow, conducted to London, tried, condemned, and executed August 23, A. D. 1305¹⁰⁷. Thus fell one of the bravest men, and most determined patriots, that Scotland ever produced; and with him the freedom and independency of his country seemed to fall.

Plan for
the go-
vernment
of Scot-
land.

Edward was now employed in forming a plan for the future government of Scotland, in which he

¹⁰⁵ M. Westmonst. p. 445, 446. Heming. t. 1. p. 205, 206.
¹⁰⁶ Trivit. Ann. 1304.
¹⁰⁷ T. Walsing. p. 90. Trivit. Ann. 1305.

was assisted by Robert Bruce earl of Carrick and Annandale, who appears to have possessed a considerable degree of his favour¹⁰⁸. By this plan (which was drawn up by commissioners appointed for that purpose) various changes were to be made in the laws of Scotland; and the chief places of power and profit were to be possessed by Englishmen¹⁰⁹. These arrangements did not contribute any thing to reconcile the minds of the Scots to their new government or their new governors.

A.D. 1305.

Robert Bruce earl of Annandale, son of Robert Bruce the competitor, died in his way from London, soon after Easter A. D. 1304; and John Baliol king of Scotland died at his estate in France about a year after¹¹⁰. These two events seem to have inspired Robert Bruce, the sixth of that name, and grandson of the competitor, with the design of asserting his claim to the crown of Scotland, and attempting to rescue his country from the English yoke. With this view, he left the court of England, and came into Scotland about the end of this year, or the beginning of the next.

Robert Bruce forms the design of mounting the throne of Scotland.

John Comyn earl of Badenoch was head of the most opulent and powerful family at this time in Scotland. He had been several years guardian of the kingdom; and was one of the last who submitted to Edward. Bruce, being sensible that the assistance of so potent a baron would be of the

A.D. 1306.
Bruce kills Comyn.

¹⁰⁸ Ryley, p. 243.

¹⁰⁹ Id. p. 279.

¹¹⁰ Heming. t. i. p. 214.
ville, p. 263. 306.

Hist. Chron. de Maieurs d'Abbe

A.D. 1306. greatest advantage, and his opposition the greatest detriment to him, in his attempt upon the crown, desired and obtained an interview with him in the convent of the friars minors at Dumfries, February 10, A. D. 1306. What was said at this interview must for ever remain a secret, as none were present but the two chieftains; but it is certain,—that they quarrelled,—that from words they proceeded to blows,—that Bruce struck Comyn with his foot, and then wounded him with his dagger,—that one of Bruce's friends, Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, rushing in, put him to death¹¹¹.

Bruce
crowned
at Scone.

After this daring and desperate deed, Bruce and his friends seized the castle of Dumfries by surprise, apprehended the English judges, who were then holding a court in the town-hall, published Bruce's resolution to assert his claim to the crown, and dispatched messengers into all parts, to invite the friends of his family, and of the freedom of their country, to come to his assistance. These messengers were so successful, that in a few days Bruce found himself at the head of a small army, with which he advanced, taking the castles, and waiving the lands, of all who refused to submit to his authority. About the middle of March he had penetrated as far as Perth, the English every where endeavouring to save their lives by flying into their own country¹¹². Having assembled all the chief men of his party, he was crowned at Scone on

¹¹¹ Heming. t. 1. p. 219. Walsing. p. 91. M. Westmonst. p. 455.

¹¹² M. Westmonst. p. 455.

Friday, March 27, A. D. 1306, in presence of four A.D. 1306.
 bishops, five earls, and a great multitude of knights
 and gentlemen. For the greater solemnity, this
 ceremony was repeated on the Sunday after, when
 the crown was put upon his head by the countess
 of Buchan, sister of the earl of Fife (which family
 claimed a right to crown the kings of Scotland),
 her brother being absent, and in the English in-
 terest ¹¹³.

Nothing could exceed the surprise and indig-
 nation of Edward when he heard of this revolution
 in Scotland. He was then at Winchester, and im-
 mediately commanded Aymer de Valence, Henry
 de Percy, and Robert de Clifford, to raise all the
 military in the north of England, to join the forces
 of the family of Comyn, and all the Scots in the
 English interest, and to take vengeance on the
 traitor Bruce, as he called him, and all his fol-
 lowers ¹¹⁴. These commands were punctually obey-
 ed: the three generals entered Scotland with a con-
 siderable army, in the beginning of summer, and
 were joined by the partisans of the Comyn family,
 who were much enraged against Bruce for the
 murder of their chief.

Invasion of
Scotland
by an Eng-
lish army.

As the enterprize in which Robert Bruce had
 engaged was one of the boldest and most desperate
 that ever was undertaken, so it was for some time
 one of the most unprosperous. Many of his bravest
 friends were killed or taken, June 24, at the fatal

Misfor-
tunes of
Bruce.

¹¹³ M. Westmonst. p. 436. Heming. t. 1. p. 220.

¹¹⁴ Rymer, t. 2. p. 988. Heming. t. 1. p. 221.

A.D. 1306. battle of Methven, near Perth; where he was surprised and defeated, and from whence he made his escape with great difficulty¹¹⁵. The shattered remains of his army were again defeated at Dalry, a few days after, by the men of Argyle, under the command of their chieftain the lord Lorn, who, being the nephew of the murdered Comyn, was the mortal enemy of Bruce. Unable any longer to keep the field, he dismissed his few remaining followers; and, after skulking for some weeks on the continent, he took shelter, with only two or three friends, in the small island of Ruchrin, one of the most unfrequented of the Western Isles¹¹⁶. Nor was Bruce less unfortunate in his family and friends than in his forces. His three brothers, Neil, Thomas, and Alexander, with Christopher Seton, an English baron, his brother-in-law, being taken in different places, were tried, condemned, and executed as traitors. His brave and faithful friends, the earl of Athol, Simon Fraser, and several others, shared the same fate¹¹⁷. His queen, his only daughter, Marjory, his two sisters, Mary and Christina, with the countess of Buchan, the heroine who had placed the crown upon his head, were all taken, and committed to different prisons, where some of them were treated with great severity¹¹⁸.

Edward
knights
his eldest
son, and
invades
Scotland.

While the wretched Bruce was overwhelmed by so many calamities, his powerful adversary Edward was

¹¹⁵ Walsing. p. 91. Heming. t. 1. p. 222.

¹¹⁶ Fordun. l. 12. c. 11. Buchan. l. 8. p. 142.

¹¹⁷ Id. ibid.

¹¹⁸ Rymer, t. 2. p. 1012—1015.

collecting

collecting money, and raising forces, to make a final conquest of Scotland. To animate the young nobility with greater ardour in this enterprize, Edward conferred the honour of knighthood upon his eldest son Edward prince of Wales, in his palace at Westminster, on Whitfunday, with very great solemnity. Immediately after, the prince went in procession to Westminster church, mounted on the high altar, and knighted about three hundred young noblemen and gentlemen, who were all dressed in robes embroidered with gold, which they had received out of the royal wardrobe. At the end of this ceremony, two swans, adorned with trappings and bells of gold, were brought with great pomp into the church; and the king took a solemn oath, by the God of heaven, and by these swans, that he would march into Scotland, and never return till he had avenged the death of John Comyn, and punished the rebellious Scots. The prince, and the young knights, his companions, took oaths to the same purpose¹¹⁹. Soon after this solemnity, the king, with the prince and his knights, set out to join the army, which was appointed to rendezvous at Carlisle in July. But this great army meeting with no enemy in the field, spent the campaign in plundering the country, taking prisoners, and receiving the submissions of such as surrendered¹²⁰.

When neither friends nor foes knew what was become of Bruce, he suddenly made his appear-

Bruce appears, and is forced to retire.

¹¹⁹ M. Westmonst. p. 458.

¹²⁰ Id. p. 460—463. Rymer, t. 2. p. 1013—1016.

A.D. 1306. ance, about Michaelmas, on his own estate in Carrick, at the head of a small but resolute band of followers, surprised Henry de Percy, who had obtained a grant of that estate from Edward, seized his baggage, and besieged himself in Turaherry castle. But on the approach of a large detachment of the English army, he was obliged to raise the siege, and take shelter in the highlands ¹²¹.

A.D. 1307. Edward, who was now in a declining state of health, spent the last months of the former, and the first months of this year, in Cumberland; and held a parliament at Carlisle, which met January 20, A. D. 1307. While this parliament was sitting, on February 22, Peter d'Espaigne, cardinal-legate from the pope, attended by the king, bishops, and barons, in their robes, with candles lighted and bells ringing, solemnly excommunicated Robert Bruce, and all who favoured him, as perjured traitors and enemies of peace ¹²². A few days after this solemnity, Piers de Gavaston, a Gascon gentleman, the great favourite and corrupter of prince Edward, was banished the kingdom; and both the prince and Gavaston took a solemn oath, that he never should return without the king's leave ¹²³.

When Edward was thus moving heaven and earth against Bruce and his adherents, that prince was not idle in his retreat. About the beginning of April, he descended from the mountains, at the head of a body of men; which, increasing as he ad-

¹²¹ Heming. t. 1. p. 225.

¹²² Id. *ibid.* p. 226.

¹²³ Rymer, t. 2. p. 1043.

vanced,

vanced, at last amounted to ten thousand. With ^{A.D. 1307.} this army he defeated Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, at Cumnock, and a few days after Ralph de Monthermer, earl of Gloucester; who flying to the castle of Ayr was there besieged ¹²⁴.

Edward, exasperated beyond measure at this intelligence, issued his commands to all the forces of his dominions, to come to him at Carlisle three weeks after Midsummer. But before that time, the dysentery, with which he had been long afflicted, had rendered him so weak, that he was confined to his chamber; and a report prevailed that he was dead. To disprove this report, he set out from Carlisle July 3; but was so feeble, that he could travel only three miles; and having rested one day, he reached Burgh on the Sands about five miles from Carlisle, July 5, and there expired in his tent, July 7, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign ¹²⁵. When he took leave of the prince of Wales, he gave him (as is usual on such occasions) much good advice. In particular, he charged him, under the pain of incurring his paternal malediction,—never to recal the banished Gavaston,—to send his heart into the Holy Land,—to carry his body with the army into Scotland, and not to bury it till he had made a complete conquest of that country ¹²⁶. What regard his son paid to these injunctions, we shall see in the next section.

Death of
Edward I.

¹²⁴ Walsing. p. 93. Heming. t. i. p. 237.

¹²⁵ Walsing. p. 93. Heming t. i. p. 237, 238. Rymer, t. 2. p. 1059.

¹²⁶ Walsing. p. 93.

A.D. 1307.

Character
of Edward
I.

Edward I. from the length and smallness of his legs commonly called *Long-Shanks*, had, in other respects, a very advantageous person, being remarkably tall, strong, and graceful. He had fine hair, yellow in his youth, darker as he advanced in life, and gray in his old age. His forehead was large, all his features regular, and his complexion fair when he was young, but browner in his manhood. He greatly excelled in riding, tilting, and in every martial and manly exercise. Hunting and hawking were his favourite amusements¹²⁷. Nor were his mental endowments inferior to his personal perfections. His excellent understanding and good sense rendered him one of the best legislators, and greatest politicians, that ever filled the throne of England. His personal courage and military skill were equally conspicuous. He had a sacred regard to justice, when he was not blinded by ambition. In a word, he was industrious, frugal, sober, and chaste; a dutiful son, a fond husband, and a tender parent. But his character was not without its blemishes: he was too fond of power; and would probably have endeavoured to render himself absolute, if he had not stood so much in need of the love and assistance of his subjects in prosecuting his ambitious schemes. It was evidently this that compelled him so frequently to confirm the charters; which he generally did with an ill grace, and to serve some particular purpose. The ambition of extending his authority over all the isle of Bri-

¹²⁷ Walsing. p. 43, 44.

tain, was, in truth, the great blemish of this prince's character, which betrayed him into many crimes and errors, and brought many calamities on both the British kingdoms. As his schemes for the reduction of Wales were successful, the cruelty and iniquity of them have been long forgotten. But his attempts on Scotland, having been more unfortunate, have appeared more criminal; and his greatest admirers cannot deny,—that he took an ungenerous advantage of the unhappy circumstances of the Scotch nation;—that he abused the confidence which they reposed in him;—and that he committed many acts of injustice and cruelty in endeavouring to establish his dominion over them. It seems indeed probable, that by labouring so long, and so earnestly, to persuade the world of his right to the sovereignty of Scotland, he at length became persuaded of it himself; and it must also be confessed, that the object was so desirable, and the probability of obtaining it so great, that few ambitious princes could have resisted the temptation.

A.D. 1307.

Edward I. was first married to the princess Eleanor of Castille, by whom he had four sons and eleven daughters. The three eldest of these sons, John, Henry, and Alphonso, died unmarried, long before their father; the youngest, Edward, survived, and succeeded him. Four of the daughters of this marriage, Eleanor, Joane of Acres, Margaret, and Elifabeth, were married to the earls of Bar and Gloucester, the duke of Brabant and earl of

His children.

A.D. 1307. Holland; six of them died in their infancy; one of them, Mary, was a nun, and survived her father. Edward's second queen was Margaret of France, by whom he had two sons, Thomas of Brotherton earl of Norfolk, and Edmund of Woodstock earl of Kent, and one daughter, Eleanor, who died in her infancy.

History of
Scotland.

ALEXANDER III. king of Scotland, with his queen, and a splendid train of his nobility, attended the coronation of his brother-in-law, Edward I. at Westminster, 19th August A. D. 1274¹²⁸. At that time the greatest cordiality reigned between the two nations, as well as the two royal families. Soon after, the unhappy question about homage, as usual, occasioned some disquiet. But as both parties were then amicably disposed, this dispute was compromised, by permitting Robert Bruce earl of Carrick to do homage in the name of Alexander, and by expressing it in general and ambiguous terms, to be on account of the lands and tenements which he held of the king of England, without any specification¹²⁹.

Changes
in the
royal fa-
mily of
Scotland.

Margaret queen of Scotland died about six months after she had attended her brother's coronation; and several great changes took place in the royal family of Scotland in a few years¹³⁰. David, the youngest son of Alexander, died A. D. 1281; and in that same year Margaret, his only daughter,

¹²⁸ Knyght. col.

¹³⁰ Ford. l. 10. c. 35.

¹²⁹ Rym. Fæd. tom. 2. p. 126.

was married to Eric king of Norway, and died A.D. 1307.
 A. D. 1283, leaving an infant daughter of the same
 name¹³¹. Alexander prince of Scotland married
 Margaret, the daughter of Guy earl of Flanders,
 A. D. 1283, and died in January A. D. 1284,
 without issue¹³². Thus, in a short time, this un-
 happy prince lost his queen, and all his children,
 having only one infant grandchild left.

Alexander III. after he had been ten years a
 widower, seeing his family so weak, at the earnest
 request of his nobility, married Isolda, daughter of
 the earl of Dreux. But he was unhappily killed
 by a fall from his horse, near Kinghorn, a few
 months after marriage, 16th March A. D. 1286,
 in the forty-fifth year of his age, and thirty-seventh
 of his reign¹³³.

Marriage
 and death
 of Alex-
 ander III.

Hardly any prince was more sincerely lamented,
 or longer remembered, by his subjects, than Alex-
 ander III. of Scotland, both on account of the
 peace and prosperity they had enjoyed under his
 government, and of the deplorable calamities in
 which they were involved after his death.

Lamented
 by his sub-
 jects.

The history of Scotland, from the death of
 Alexander to the death of Edward I. is so inter-
 woven with that of England, that it could not
 be separated from it, and hath been already re-
 lated.

¹³¹ Rym. Feod. t. 4. p. 370. Ford. l. 10. c. 37.

¹³² Rym. Feod. tom. 2. p. 269. Ford. l. 10. c. 37.

¹³³ Ford. l. 10. c. 40.

SECTION III.

The civil and military history of Britain, from the accession of Edward II. A. D. 1307, to the accession of Edward III. A. D. 1327.

A.D. 1307.

Advantages of Edward II. at his accession.

EDWARD II. at his accession to the crown of England, enjoyed many great advantages; which seemed to promise him the monarchy of Britain, and a glorious and happy reign. He was then in the twenty-third year of his age, at the head of a mighty army, flushed with many former victories, inflamed with the most violent national animosity against the Scots, with whom they had been about fifteen years at war, and animated with the most ardent desire of acquiring both riches and honour, by the complete conquest of their country. But it soon appeared that he was not possessed of talents to make a proper use of these advantages.

Edward marches into Scotland.

Edward spent about three weeks at Carlisle, waiting for some of his forces, receiving the homage of his English barons and other military tenants of the crown, and giving orders about his father's funeral, and other matters. At length, August 1, A. D. 1307, he began his march into Scotland, directing his route towards Dumfries, having summoned the nobility of Scotland to meet him at that place, to perform their homage¹.

¹ Chron. de Lannercost.

Here

Here he trifled away his time in receiving the submissions of such of the Scotch barons as obeyed his summons, without taking any vigorous measures for the reduction of Robert Bruce and his followers, who were becoming daily more formidable.

A.D. 1307.

As soon as Edward heard of his father's death, he discovered his contempt of his own most solemn oaths, and of the dying injunctions of his illustrious parent, by recalling Piers Gavaston from banishment; and while he resided at Dumfries, he further betrayed his extravagant fondness for that pernicious favourite, by granting him, August 6, the whole earldom of Cornwall, and all the great estates of his cousin Edmund, which had lately fallen to the crown².

Gavaston recalled.

Edward paid no greater regard to the last and most earnest of his father's admonitions, to prosecute the war against Scotland with the greatest vigour, and never to desist until he had made an entire conquest of that country. For from the very beginning of his reign he allowed that war to languish, and advanced no further than to Cumnock, in the shire of Ayr, where he continued only a few days. Becoming weary even of the shadow of war, and impatient to embrace his returning favourite Gavaston, having constituted Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke guardian of Scotland, he disbanded a great part of his army and returned to England in the beginning of September³.

Edward returns to England.

² Rymer, t. 3. p. 1, 2, 3. J. de Trokelow. M. Malmshusen. p. 95.

³ Rymer, t. 3. p. 7.

A.D. 1307.

Edward's
liberality
to Gavaf-
ton.

These first transactions of Edward's reign gave the people of England very unfavourable impressions, both of the dispositions and abilities of their new king; and the events which followed served still further to confirm these impressions. As soon as the favourite Gavaston arrived at court, he was loaded with wealth and honours, and had the entire direction both of the king and kingdom. The faithful servants of the late king were the first who felt the fatal effects of the favourite's unbounded sway. The chancellor, treasurer, barons of the exchequer, and judges of both benches, were all turned out of their places; and some of them, particularly Walter de Langton treasurer, imprisoned, and treated with great severity⁴. The places of these discarded ministers and judges were filled by the creatures of the favourite. Edward, not yet weary of conferring benefits on his beloved Gavaston, gave him a still stronger proof of his unbounded affection, by introducing him into the royal family, and bestowing his own niece, sister of the young earl of Gloucester, upon him in marriage⁵. Nay, when this infatuated prince failed to Boulogne, in January 1308, to celebrate his nuptials with the princess Isabella, daughter of the king of France, to whom he had already been espoused by proxy, passing by the princes of the blood, and all the ancient nobility of England, he constituted Gavaston guardian of the kingdom in his absence,

⁴ Walsingham, p. 96. J. de Trokelowe, p. 4. Heming. t. 1. p. 244. ⁵ Heming. vol. 1. p. 245. Mon. Malm. p. 96.

with more extensive powers than had ever been granted to any former guardian ^{A.D. 1307.}

Such an astonishing profusion of royal favour, was enough to have excited envy against a person of the greatest prudence and humility. But these virtues constituted no part of the character of this worthless minion. On the contrary, he was vain and insolent in the highest degree; and made the most ostentatious and provoking displays of his personal accomplishments, and of his power and riches. Some of the nobility he offended by his satirical wit; some he affronted by his superior address in tournaments, the favourite diversion of the great in these times: and he enraged them all by engrossing the royal favour and bounty, and depriving them of that share in the confidence and liberality of their sovereign, and in the management of public affairs, to which they thought themselves entitled by their birth and station. Thus, while Gavaston was beloved beyond measure by his deluded sovereign, he was abhorred and hated with the greatest violence, both by the nobility and common people; who never could be prevailed upon to shew him the least respect, or call him by any other name than that of *Piers Gavaston*, though a ridiculous proclamation was issued by the king, commanding all men to give him the title of *Earl of Cornwall* in common conversation ⁸.

Milton-
duct of
Gavaston.

⁶ Rymer, t. 3. p. 47. 53. Ypodig. Neuftrix, p. 499.

⁷ Walsing. p. 97. J. Trekelawe, p. 6.

⁸ Mon. Malm. p. 28.

A.D. 1308.

Edward's
marriage
and coro-
nation.

Indigna-
tion of the
nobility
against
Gavaston.

Edward returned from France on the 7th of February, accompanied with a splendid train of French princes and noblemen, and was crowned, together with his young queen, in Westminster abbey, on the 25th of the same month⁹.

Though Edward was now married to a young and beautiful princess, it soon appeared that she possessed a very small share of his affections; and that his fondness for his favourite was not in the least diminished. He bestowed upon Gavaston all the rich presents which he had received from the king of France at his marriage; he allowed him to plunder the treasury of one hundred thousand pounds, besides jewels left by the late king; and he appointed him to carry the crown at the coronation, where he far outshone all the nobility, and even the king himself, in the splendour and richness of his dress¹⁰. These and many other marks which the king daily gave of his extravagant fondness for his favourite, inflamed the resentment of the nobility to the greatest height, and made them resolved to tear the insolent minion from behind the throne, and drive him out of the kingdom. Thomas earl of Lancaster, the king's cousin-german, the richest and most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, was at the head of the discontented barons, who had a meeting in the refectory of Westminster abbey, a few days after the coronation, and petitioned the king to banish Gavaston

⁹ Walsing. p. 95, 96. Rymer, t. 3. p. 59.

¹⁰ Rymer, t. 3. p. 63, &c. M. Westmoult. Contin.

out of the kingdom. But he declined giving any answer to this petition till after Easter, when the parliament was to meet¹¹. The barons, being sensible that force alone could prevail upon the king to grant a petition so contrary to his inclination, employed the interval in providing such a force; and had several meetings, at Ware, Northampton, and other places; in which they bound themselves by oath to stand by one another in procuring the banishment of Gavaston¹². A.D. 1108.

The parliament met at Westminster on the 28th of April; to which the earl of Lancaster, and the barons of his party, came, attended with so great an armed force, that the king was in no condition to deny them any thing. Their demands, however, were more moderate than might have been expected. They insisted only, that Gavaston should be banished out of England for life; that he should depart out of the kingdom before Midsummer next, and take an oath never to return; without requiring the confiscation of his great estate, or calling him to account for the immense sums of the public money which he had converted to his own use¹³. The king, though with extreme reluctance, consented to the banishment of his favourite, and granted his letters-patent to that purpose¹⁴. Parliament.

¹¹ M. Westmonst. Contin.

¹² Chron. St. August.

¹³ Trivit. Contin. p. 5. Heming. p. 245.

¹⁴ Rymer, t. 3. p. 80.

A.D. 1308.

Gavaston
made lord
lieutenant
of Ireland.

As soon as the parliament was dismissed, Edward gave his favourite fresh proofs of his unabating fondness, by granting him several large estates, both in England and Gascony¹⁵; and when he found it impossible to retain him any longer near his person, without incurring both the censures of the church and the dangers of a civil war, instead of sending him into Gascony, as the discontented barons expected, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and accompanied him to Bristol in his way to that kingdom¹⁶. Gavaston spent about a year in Ireland, living in royal splendour, and displaying his military skill and courage, of which he possessed a considerable share, in taking some castles, and defeating some parties of the rebellious Irish¹⁷.

A.D. 1309.

Gavaston
recalled.

In the mean time Edward bore the absence of his favourite with great impatience, and employed every art to pave the way for his return. He prevailed with the pope to absolve Gavaston from the oath which he had taken never to return to England¹⁸; and greatly softened the resentments of his most powerful enemies by favours and promises¹⁹. When all things were thus prepared, the favourite was recalled, and the infatuated prince flew to meet him at Chester about the end of June 1309²⁰, and

¹⁵ Rymer, t. 3. p. 87, &c.

¹⁶ Id. *ibid.* p. 92, 93. M. Malmf. Vita Edwardi II. p. 100.

¹⁷ Daniel's Hist. Ed. II. in Kenet's Hist. vol. 1. p. 204.

¹⁸ Rymer, t. 3. p. 92.

¹⁹ Id. *ibid.* p. 78. M. Malmf. p. 101.

²⁰ Leland's Collect. vol. 1. p. 248.

received him with the greatest transports of joy, and all the marks of the most fond affection. Edward had at this time so far regained the confidence of his nobility and other subjects, by many great concessions which he had made them²¹, that he prevailed with the parliament, which met at Stamford, July 26, to approve of Gavaston's return, and consent to his remaining in England unmolested.

A.D. 1309.

If Edward and his favourite had been capable of becoming wiser by their past difficulties, they might have enjoyed their present tranquillity much longer than they did. But being both equally vain and thoughtless, they abandoned themselves to the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. Nothing was to be seen at court but the most magnificent and expensive feasts, balls, and tournaments; at all which Gavaston made the most conspicuous figure, and eclipsed all the ancient nobility by the richness and splendour of his appearance, and the lustre of royal favour²². Besides this provoking display of his prosperity, so apt to excite envy, he inflamed the resentment of some of the most powerful barons, by turning them into ridicule, and giving them opprobrious and disgraceful nicknames, calling the earl of Lancaster, the first prince of the blood, and most potent nobleman in the kingdom, the *Stage-player*; the earl of Pembroke, *Joseph the Jew*; the earl of Warwick, the *Black dog of Ardene*, &c. This imprudent

Misconduct of
Edward
and Gavaston.

²¹ See chap. 3.²² M. Malmf. p. 103.

A.D. 1309. conduct very soon produced its natural consequences, and Gavaston became the object of universal detestation. The discontented lords began to draw together, and appointed tournaments in several places, as a plausible pretence for their meetings, which were in reality designed for contriving the destruction of the favourite ²³.

A.D. 1310.
Parliaments. The king, in order to avoid the gathering storm, made a progress into the north, and called a parliament, to meet at York on the 18th of October, in which Gavaston took his place as earl of Cornwall. But the discontented and now confederated barons, pretending to dread some danger to their persons from the power and treachery of the favourite, refused to attend this parliament; which, for that reason, was adjourned to meet at the same place on the 3d of February A. D. 1310 ²⁴. The same cause rendered this second meeting ineffectual. The king, who was in great distress for money; being at length convinced that he could obtain no aid from his parliament, while the object of his affection, and of their detestation, was in view, resolved to part with his favourite for a time, and sent him out of the way.

Change in
the consti-
tution.

After the departure of Gavaston, the confederated lords no longer refused to come to a parliament, which met at Westminster in Lent 1310 ²⁵; but they came attended (contrary to a royal pro-

²³ Rymer, t. 3. p. 208. 222, &c.

²⁴ Heming. t. 1. p. 246.

²⁵ Id. *ibid.* Mon. Malmf. p. 104.

clamation)

clamation²⁶) with such numbers of armed followers, that they were entire masters both of king and parliament. This enabled them to make that temporary change in the constitution, more fully related in the third chapter of this book; and of investing twelve of their own number, under the title of *Ordainers*, with a kind of dictatorial authority, which they were to enjoy till Michaelmas in the year following; and the king granted a commission for chusing these ordainers on the 16th March 1310²⁷.

A.D. 1310.

After Edward had made this great concession to please the confederated barons, and the other business of this session of parliament was ended, he began to turn his views northward, and to think of doing something in earnest in the war with Scotland, which had languished ever since his accession to the throne²⁸.

Edward resolves to prosecute the war with Scotland.

If Edward had prosecuted the war with Scotland, in the first year of his reign, with any vigour, the total and final conquest of that country would, in all human probability, have been the consequence. All the places of strength in that kingdom were already in his possession; the far greatest part of the nobility and people had submitted to the English government; the potent family of the Comyns, with some others, had cordially embraced the English interest; and a long and dangerous sickness with which Robert Bruce, the new king of

Robert Bruce reduces a great part of Scotland.

²⁶ Rymer, t. 3. p. 200.
t. 3. p. 204. 220.

²⁷ Ryley, p. 526. Rymer,
²⁸ Rymer, t. 3. p. 222.

A.D. 1310. Scots, was seized at that time, would have facilitated the success of the enterprise. But Edward, by his hasty return into England, and the subsequent errors of his conduct, lost all these advantages, never to be regained. For as soon as Bruce recovered his health, he applied himself with great spirit to improve the favourable opportunity which the imprudence of Edward and the distractions of the English government put into his hand; and by a series of wise, vigorous, and successful measures, in the space of three years he reduced all Scotland, except a few fortresses, under his obedience.

Edward
invades
Scotland.

At length Edward summoned all the military vassals of the crown to meet him at Berwick, with their troops, on the 8th of September 1310, in order to an expedition into Scotland. This summons was but ill obeyed; several of the confederated lords remaining in London to attend the twelve ordainers, who were employed in preparing their ordinances for the reformation of the government²⁹. Edward, however, marched into Scotland at the head of a considerable army; and Bruce declining an engagement, and retiring into the north, he advanced as far as Linlithgow without seeing an enemy; but was soon obliged, for want of provisions, to return with his army to Berwick. He spent the winter in this place, happy in the society of his beloved Gavaston, who had lately emerged from his retreat³⁰.

²⁹ Mon. Malmf. p. 105, 106. Heming. p. 247, 248.

³⁰ Id. *ibid*.

Edward

Edward sent his favourite with an army into Scotland (in March 1311), to gather laurels, and abate the general odium against him. Gavaston penetrated a great way into the country; but not being able to bring the Scots to an engagement, he returned without performing any action of éclat. After his return, Edward set out for London to hold a parliament, which was summoned to meet there on the 8th of August, and continued to sit till the 10th of October.

A.D. 1311.
Gavaston's
expedition
into Scot-
land.

In this parliament the famous ordinances composed by the twelve ordainers were debated; and at length, with much reluctance, confirmed by the king, and sworn to by the lords and commons, and copies of them, under the great seal, sent to all the sheriffs of England³¹.

Ordinan-
ces con-
firmed.

By one article of these ordinances, Piers Gavaston was, for many crimes therein enumerated, to be banished for ever out of all the king's dominions, and to depart before the 1st of November next, under the penalty of being treated as a common enemy to the king and kingdom³².

Gavaston
banished.

After his favourite was thus once more torn from him, Edward retired into the north, and took up his residence at York. Unable to live long without his beloved Gavaston, he recalled him from Flanders, the place of his retreat³³; received him at his arrival with the greatest transports of

A.D. 1312.
Gavaston
recalled.

³¹ Mon. Malmf. p. 110—113. J. de Trokelowe, p. 7, 8.
Brady's Hist. vol. 3. p. 102, 119. Append. N° 50, &c.
³² Mon. Malmf. p. 114, &c. ³³ J. Trokelowe, p. 8.

A.D. 1312. joy; heaped new favours upon him; and published a proclamation, declaring that his banishment had been illegal³⁴.

Civil war. This imprudent measure rekindled the resentment of the confederated barons; who immediately drew together, raised an army, and, having appointed the earl of Lancaster their general, directed their march northward³⁵. The confederates now received a great accession of strength, by the junction of the earl of Warrenne to their party, and by the general dissatisfaction with the king, and rage against the favourite, which prevailed amongst the people.

Edward
and Gavaston
retire.

In the mean time, the king and Gavaston spent their time in pleasure, and in the most profound security, at York, without taking any measures to meet or dissipate the approaching storm. At length, when they heard that the confederate army was near, they retired first to Newcastle, and then to Tinnmouth, where they embarked with a small retinue, and arrived at Scarborough. The king having put Gavaston into the castle of that place, which was esteemed impregnable, marched on to York, in order to raise an army, to make head against his enemies³⁶.

Gavaston
besieged
in Scarborough
castle, and
taken.

As soon as the earl of Lancaster received intelligence of this, he marched from Newcastle, and, detaching the earls of Pembroke and Surry, and

³⁴ Rym. Fœd. t. 3. p. 298.

³⁵ Walsing. p. 100. J. Trokelowe, p. 10. Mon. Malmf. p. 118.

³⁶ Walsing. p. 101. Mon. Malmf. p. 119. J. Trokelowe, p. 16.

Henry

Henry de Percy, with a sufficient body of troops, to besiege the castle of Scarborough, he posted himself between that place and York, to prevent all communication between the king and Gavaston³⁷. The king, trembling for the safety of his favourite, and unable to relieve him by force, sent his royal mandate to the besiegers, commanding them to desist from their enterprise³⁸. But slighting this command, they pushed the siege with vigour; and Gavaston, finding the place destitute of provisions for a long defence, capitulated on the 19th of May; and surrendered himself to the earl of Pembroke and Henry de Percy, on condition that he should be kept safe in their custody till the first of August next: that in the mean time endeavours should be used for bringing about a general accommodation; but if that did not take place, he should then be restored to the castle of Scarborough, in the same condition in which he left it: and for the observation of these conditions these two noblemen pledged all their lands³⁹.

The earl of Pembroke having thus got the person of the hated Gavaston into his possession, conducted him to the castle of Deddington, near Banbury, in Oxfordshire. Here the earl left him in the custody of his servants, and went to spend a few days with his lady, who resided in that neighbourhood⁴⁰. In the mean time, on Saturday 17th

A.D. 1312.

Gavaston
executed.³⁷ J. Trokelowe, p. 17.³⁸ Rym. Fœd. t. 3. p. 327, 328.³⁹ Rym. Fœd. t. 3. p. 334. Mon. Malm. p. 120.⁴⁰ Walsing. p. 101. T. de la More, p. 593.

A.D. 1312. June, very early in the morning, the castle of Deddington was beset by a great body of armed men, commanded by Guy earl of Warwick; and Gavaston finding his guards neither able nor willing to defend him, surrendered himself into the hands of that earl, his most furious and implacable enemy, who carried him to his castle of Warwick. As soon as this event was known, the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, the chiefs of the confederacy, repaired to Warwick; and after some consultation they agreed to put their prisoner to death, as a traitor and public enemy, without any regard to the capitulation, and without any formal trial. In consequence of this resolution, on the 1st July, the three earls with their followers conducted the wretched Gavaston to Blacklow-hill, near Warwick, where they beheld his head severed from his body by the hands of the executioner, with some degree of that savage pleasure which party-rage is too apt to inspire on such occasions⁴¹.

Peace between Edward and the confederated barons.

Edward, when he received the news of his beloved favourite's death, was filled with inexpressible grief, and with the most furious resentment against its authors⁴². He hastened to London, and applied himself with uncommon spirit, to collect money, and raise an army: but as he had lost the affections of the greatest part of his subjects, his endeavours

⁴¹ Dugdale's Baron. vol. 2. p. 44. Walsing. p. 101. T. de la More, p. 592. Mon. Malmf. p. 123. J. Trokelowe, p. 18.

⁴² Mon. Malmf. p. 126.

were not very successful; and he soon heard, that the confederated barons were approaching the capital at the head of a much more powerful army than he could bring into the field. This disposed him to listen to milder counsels; and the count of Evreux, the queen's uncle, cardinal Arnaud, the pope's nuncio, and the earls of Gloucester and Richmond, interposing their good offices, a treaty was set on foot between the king and the barons. While this treaty was depending, the queen was delivered of her eldest son, prince Edward, at Windsor, on the 13th of November⁴³. This happy event is said to have put the king into such a good humour, that it contributed greatly to facilitate the success of the negotiations; and a pacification was concluded, December 20, on the following terms: "That the barons should come before the king in Westminster-hall, and ask his pardon on their knees; that they should restore the horses, arms, jewels, plate, &c. belonging to Gavaston, which they had seized at Newcastle; and that a full pardon should be passed in the next parliament to the barons and their adherents, for the death of Gavaston, and all other crimes and misdemeanors⁴⁴."

Though the armies on both sides were disbanded, and some appearance of tranquillity restored by this pacification, the reconciliation between the

A.D. 1313.
The king and queen visit the court of France.

⁴³ Rymeri Fœd. t. 3. p. 358.

⁴⁴ Id. ibid. p. 366, 367, 368. Walsing. p. 102. J. Trokelowe, p. 19, 20. Mon. Malmf. p. 129—131.

king

A.D. 1313.

king and the barons was far from being cordial. Edward, who had not yet forgot his resentment for the death of his favourite, was in no haste to call a parliament, and grant the pardon he had promised; and the barons, jealous of his ill intentions, kept at a distance from court, and in a posture of defence. Whilst affairs were in this unsettled state, Edward, having constituted his nephew the earl of Gloucester guardian of the kingdom, embarked at Dover for France May 23, with his queen, and a splendid retinue, to be present at the knighting and coronation of Lewis king of Navarre, his brother-in-law, on June 3, at Paris⁴⁵. Before his departure a parliament had been called to meet at Westminster July 8, and he sent over a commission to the bishops of Bath and Worcester, and the earls of Gloucester and Richmond, to hold that parliament⁴⁶. But his absence rendered this meeting abortive, and increased the discontent and jealousy of the barons, who now became impatient to obtain the promised pardon, and began to talk of having recourse to arms.

King and
barons re-
conciled.

The king arriving from France July 16, and being made sensible that it was dangerous to trifle any longer with the discontented barons, summoned a parliament to meet September 23, at Westminster⁴⁷. At this parliament, by the mediation of the queen, the prelates, and the earl of Gloucester, the pacification between the king and the

⁴⁵ Rymeri Fœd, t. 3. p. 393.

⁴⁶ Id. *ibid.* p. 422.

⁴⁷ Id. *ibid.* t. 3. p. 416.

barons was completed. The barons came into Westminster-hall, and implored the king's pardon on their knees : the king published a general pardon to the barons and all their adherents October 16, and the day after he granted particular pardons, under the great seal, to the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick, and about five hundred knights and gentlemen of their party, by name ⁴⁸. The king feasted the earl of Lancaster and the barons of his party, and was feasted by them ; and as a still more substantial proof of their reconciliation, the barons and knights of shires granted the king a twentieth, and the citizens and burgeses a fifteenth, of their moveables, to enable him to carry on the war against Scotland ⁴⁹.

A.D. 1313.

Robert Bruce, who was now generally acknowledged by his own subjects, and by foreign nations, as king of Scots, having made the best advantage of these dissensions, which reigned so long in England, had reduced all Scotland under his obedience before the beginning of the year 1314, except the castles of Stirling, Dunbar, and Berwick. He had also restored order to the civil government, and authority to the laws ; extinguished the English faction, revived the spirits, and united the hearts, of the Scots, in defence of their king and country. Nay, this wise and intrepid prince had even made several bold incursions into England, and returned loaden with the spoils of his enemies ⁵⁰.

A.D. 1314.
State of
Scotland.⁴⁸ Rymeri Fœd. t. 3. p. 443. 445. 447.⁴⁹ Mon. Malmf. p. 141.⁵⁰ Id. p. 144.

A.D. 1314.

Edward
prepares
for a for-
midable
invasion of
Scotland.

It was now high time for the English, as soon as their internal tranquillity was restored, to think seriously of avenging these injuries, and recovering the dominion of Scotland, which they had lost by their intestine broils. With these views, Edward applied with great vigour to the raising of money, collecting provisions, arms, ships, and forces, for a formidable expedition into Scotland, which might decide the fate of that kingdom at a single blow, and reduce it once more under the English yoke⁵¹. He enlisted troops in Flanders, and other foreign countries; sent for his military vassals in Gascony, Ireland, and Wales; and summoned all the warlike power of England to meet him at Newcastle upon Tyne, three weeks after Easter⁵². The earls of Lancaster, Arundel, Surry, and Warwick, only sent their vassals, not thinking fit to trust themselves in the king's power⁵³. But in general this summons was so well obeyed, that Edward found himself at the head of the greatest army that ever marched out of England into Scotland, attended by an incredible number of carriages, loaded with arms, provisions, and baggage of all kinds⁵⁴. Every thing being ready, he moved from Berwick June 18, directing his march towards Stirling castle, the relief of which was the immediate object of this mighty armament, and arrived by easy marches, and without any opposition, within three miles of

⁵¹ Rymeri Fœd. t. 3. p. 432. 463. 475.

⁵² Id. ibid. p. 476, 477, &c.

⁵³ Walling. p. 104.

⁵⁴ Mon. Malmf. p. 146, 147.

that place, on June 24. Here the Scotch army presented itself to view, drawn up on the north banks of the little river Bannock, directly in the road to Stirling ⁵⁵.

A.D. 1314.

Scotland had been so long in a state of war, and so often desolated by the English armies under Edward I. that it was now thinly inhabited; and king Robert, with all his efforts, could not collect above thirty thousand men to defend his crown and kingdom against so formidable an invasion. With this army, however, being the greatest he could raise, he resolved to stand his ground, depending on their determined courage, and declared resolution to die or conquer. He chose his ground with great judgment, having a mountain on his right, a morass on his left, and a small river in front. To render the approach of the enemies cavalry, in which they abounded, still more difficult and dangerous, he had dug many pits along the banks of the river, into which he had driven stakes, sharpened at the head, and very artfully covered them with turfs and rushes ⁵⁶. There were some skirmishes between detached parties of cavalry on the evening in which the armies came in fight; in one of which the king of Scots gave a proof of his strength, dexterity, and courage, which greatly raised the hopes of his army, by cleaving Henry de Bohun to the chin, with a battle-axe, at the head of his troop ⁵⁷. But the day being too far spent for a general engage-

Number and disposition of the Scotch army.

⁵⁵ Mon. Malmf. p. 146, 147. Walsing. p. 105.

⁵⁶ T. de la More, p. 594.

⁵⁷ Mon. Malmf. p. 147, 148.

ment,

A.D. 1314.

Battle of
Bannock-
burn.

ment, both armies retired to their ground, and waited with equal impatience the return of light.

This short night is said to have been spent in a very different manner by the different armies. The English, despising an enemy whom they had so often conquered, confident of victory from their superior numbers, and abounding in provisions of all kinds, spent the hours in mirth and jollity. The Scots, sensible that the moment which must determine the fate of their country, and make them and their posterity either a free or a dependant people, was approaching, employed the awful interval in acts of devotion, and in mutual exhortations to conquer nobly or die bravely. As soon as the dawn appeared, both armies began to put themselves in order of battle. The earl of Gloucester, who commanded the English cavalry, full of youthful ardour, and disputing the post of honour with the earl of Hereford, advanced to the attack with too much precipitation, fell among the covered pits, was thrown from his horse, and killed⁵⁸. This disaster threw the cavalry into some confusion; and Sir James Douglas, who commanded the van of the Scotch army, making a furious attack upon them at the same instant, completed their disorder, and put them to a total rout⁵⁹. The infantry, observing with astonishment the defeat of their horse, and seeing another army, as they imagined, marching along the hills, (which

⁵⁸ T. de la More, p. 594. Mon. Malmf. p. 147, 148.

⁵⁹ Id, ibid. p. 149.

was only the waggoners and boys in the Scotch camp, furnished with standards to make the appearance of an army at a distance,) were seized with a panic, and fled, without striking a blow, or coming near an enemy. In this deplorable scene of confusion the unhappy Edward discovered no want of personal courage, and was with much difficulty persuaded to quit the field of battle, and save himself by flight⁶⁰. By the most moderate accounts of contemporary historians, there fell in this battle, or were taken prisoners, of earls, barons, and knights, 154, of gentlemen 700, and of common soldiers above 10,000⁶¹. As this great defeat happened early in the morning on Midsummer day, at the distance of eighty miles from any place of safety, very few of the flying army would have escaped with life and liberty, if many of the Scotch soldiers had not preferred the plunder of the English camp (where they found an immense booty) to the pursuit of their enemies⁶². Such was the fatal defeat of Bannockburn, which for some time greatly sunk the spirits of the English nation, established Robert Bruce on the throne of Scotland, and restored the long-disputed independency of that kingdom⁶³.

Edward remained about three weeks at Berwick, whither he had escaped, and then set out for York, to hold a parliament, which was summoned to

Unhappy
State of
England.

⁶⁰ Mon. Malmf. p. 151. J. Trokelowe, p. 27.

⁶¹ Walsing. p. 105. T. de la More, p. 594.

⁶² Mon. Malmf. p. 152.

⁶³ Walsing. p. 106. Mon. Malmf. p. 152, 153.

A.D. 1314. meet there on August 15⁶⁴. England was at this time a scene of great distress and misery; dispirited by defeat, distracted by faction, depopulated by famine, and desolated by an army of Scots, who had made an incursion into the northern counties. But the earl of Lancaster, and the barons of his party, who had not been in the late battle, instead of flying to the relief of their bleeding country, took that opportunity to promote their own ambitious views; and the king being unable to make any resistance to their will, they turned all his officers and servants out of their places, which they took to themselves, or bestowed on their dependents⁶⁵. The remainder of this unfortunate year was spent in fruitless overtures for peace, and in exchanging prisoners. Bruce now received his wife, his daughter Marjory, then his only child, his sister Christina, and all the lords and gentlemen who had been prisoners in England since the time of Edward I. in exchange for some of the earls, barons, and others, who had been taken at the battle of Bannockburn⁶⁶.

A.D. 1315.
State of
England.

Though the whole power was now in the hands of the earl of Lancaster and his partisans, the nation reaped no advantage from their administration. The famine still continued to rage with great violence; and the imprudent methods used by a parliament assembled the 20th January, to remedy that evil, by setting a fixed price on all kinds of

⁶⁴ Rymer, t. 3. p. 493. Walsing. p. 106.

⁶⁵ Mon. Malmf. p. 154.

⁶⁶ Rymer, Fœd. t. 3. p. 489, &c. Walsing. p. 106. Mon. Malmf. p. 135.

provisions,

provisions, rather increased it⁶⁷. The Scots, who were afflicted with the same calamity, sought relief by making incursions into England; and though some troops were sent into the north, yet no effectual care was taken to prevent them⁶⁸.

A.D. 1315.

The Scots were so much elated by their late successes, that they began to entertain hopes of conquering another kingdom. The Irish had long borne the English yoke with impatience; and thinking this a favourable opportunity to throw it off, they invited Edward Bruce, brother to the king of Scots, to come over to their assistance with a body of troops, and promised to make him king of Ireland. Edward, naturally ambitious and enterprising, joyfully accepted the invitation; and landed near Carrickfergus, May 26, with a small but select army of 6000 men; and being joined by some Irish chieftains, he had several actions with the English, with various success⁶⁹.

Expedition of Edward Bruce into Ireland.

At a parliament held at Lincoln in the months of January and February, the king having once more confirmed the famous ordinances, and submitted to every condition imposed upon him by the Lancastrian faction, an expedition against Scotland was resolved upon; the earl of Lancaster was declared the chief of the king's council, and general of the army, which was to assemble at Newcastle 8th July⁷⁰.

A.D. 1316. Lancastrian party predominant.

⁶⁷ Walsing. p. 106, 107. J. Trokelowe, p. 30, 31.

⁶⁸ Walsing. p. 106, 107.

⁶⁹ Annals of Ireland in Camden. Trivet. Contin. p. 28. Walsing. p. 107.

⁷⁰ Rymer. Foed. 1. 3. p. 557—563.

A.D. 1316.

Expedi-
tion of
Robert
Bruce into
Ireland.

It is not a little surprising, that while he was threatened with so formidable an invasion from England, Robert Bruce should think of leaving his kingdom, and invading Ireland. This renders it highly probable, that there was some foundation for what was surmised by the enemies of the earl of Lancaster; that there was a secret correspondence between that earl and the king of Scots⁷¹. However this may be, Robert made an expedition into Ireland this year, to assist his brother in the conquest of that kingdom; but a dreadful famine raging in that country, and a great mortality breaking out in his army, he was obliged to return without effecting any thing considerable, leaving his brother and his trusty followers to struggle some time longer with these difficulties.

Intended
expedition
against
Scotland
disap-
pointed.

While the king of Scots, with the flower of his nobility and fighting men, were absent, Scotland seemed to invite an invader, and present the English with a favourable opportunity of recovering all their losses. King Edward seems to have been disposed to seize this opportunity; for he came to Newcastle at the time appointed for the rendezvous of the army. But the earl of Lancaster, with the barons of his party, and their followers, not appearing, the intended invasion never took effect⁷².

A.D. 1317.

Attempt
of the
pope to
make a

The war which had continued so long between England and Scotland, had prevented the English for many years from taking any part in the affairs

⁷¹ Mon. Malmf. p. 173.

⁷² Walsing. p. 107. Rymer. Fœd. t. 3. p. 568.

of the Holy Land; though Edward II. had assumed the cross a little before his father's death. But the pope about this time projecting a new croisade, resolved, if possible, to bring about a pacification between the two British kingdoms, that Edward might be at liberty to fulfil his vow. With this view he published, by his own authority, a truce between them for two years, threatening those who did not observe it with excommunication⁷³; and sent over two cardinals to negotiate a peace. These cardinals arriving in England in July, and having waited on Edward at Nottingham, proceeded towards Scotland. But Robert Bruce, being dissatisfied with the letters which they had sent to acquaint him of their coming, in which they gave him only the title of *Governor of Scotland*, would not suffer them to enter his kingdom, paid no regard to the truce which the pope had published, and equally slighted the excommunication and interdict which followed⁷⁴: a proof that this prince was possessed of a spirit superior to the wretched and slavish superstition of the age in which he lived!

A.D. 1317.

peace between
England
and Scotland
unsuccessful.

The dissensions in England between the royal party and that of the earl of Lancaster, were again revived, and raged at this time with the greatest violence. The royalists did not scruple to accuse that earl of treason, for not coming to the rendezvous at Newcastle the former year, and for not

Civil dissensions
between
the royal
and Lancastrian
parties.

⁷³ Rymer. Foed. t. 3. p. 594. 611. 635.

⁷⁴ Id. ibid. p. 707. 727.

A.D. 1317. attending two meetings of parliament this year, the one at Clarendon, the other at Westminster; by which these meetings were rendered abortive⁷⁵. The earl excused himself, by alleging that his enemies at court had formed designs against his life. These political animosities were much inflamed by a family quarrel, which broke out at this time between the earl of Lancaster and his lady, whose cause was warmly espoused by the royal party. Alice countess of Lancaster, only child of Henry earl of Lincoln, had been the greatest heiress perhaps that ever was in England, and brought her husband an immense accession both of wealth and power; but being dissatisfied with his conduct, she made an elopement on Monday, May 9; and was received and protected by John de Warrenne earl of Surrey, at his castle of Riegate⁷⁶. This was furiously resented by the earl of Lancaster, who flew to arms, and took several castles belonging to the earl of Surrey, and some belonging to the king⁷⁷. But when a civil war was thus kindled, the two cardinals above mentioned, the earl of Pembroke, and some other noblemen, interposed; and, by their mediation, an accommodation was patched up, by which all differences were referred to a parliament, appointed to meet at Lincoln January 27, next year⁷⁸.

A.D. 1318.
The Lancastrian party prevails.

The earl of Lancaster keeping his forces still on foot, the meeting of parliament was put off from

⁷⁵ Mon. Malmf. p. 177.

⁷⁶ Walsing. p. 108, 109.

⁷⁷ Rymer. Fœd. t. 3. p. 672, 673.

⁷⁸ Id. ibid. p. 668.

time to time; and it did not actually assemble till the month of July, at Northampton⁷⁹. At this meeting the earl carried every point to his mind. The famous ordinances were again confirmed, and a standing council, of eight bishops, four earls, and four barons, appointed, who were constantly to attend the king by turns, four every quarter; without whose advice he was to perform no act of government⁸⁰.

A.D. 1318.

As Robert Bruce owed his crown, and the Scots the recovery of their independency, to the discords and factions in England, so they still continued to make advantage of these discords: for, on the 2d of April this year, they recovered the important town and castle of Berwick, and pushed their destructive incursions into England, as far as Yorkshire⁸¹;

Berwick recovered by the Scots.

After the pacification of Northampton, the English began to turn their eyes northward, and to think of putting a stop to the career of their enemies. With this view a parliament was held at York in October⁸². While this parliament was sitting, Edward received the joyful news, that the English, under the command of John lord Ber-
 mingham, had obtained a complete victory over the Scots in Ireland, on the 14th October, near Dundalk; and that Edward Bruce, with almost all

Intended invasion of Scotland frustrated.

⁷⁹ Rymer, vol. 3. p. 696. 712.

⁸⁰ Id. *ibid.* p. 722. Mon. Malmf. p. 185, 186.

⁸¹ T. de la More, p. 394. Meremuth. p. 53. Walsing. p. 111, 112. Fordun, l. 12. c. 37.

⁸² M. Westm. Contin. J. Trokelowe, p. 43. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 733, &c.

A.D. 1318. his followers, had fallen in the field of battle⁸³. He would gladly have taken advantage of this favourable event, and invaded the Scots in their own country, before they had recovered from their consternation occasioned by this great disaster. He even collected some forces for this invasion; but the barons declining to engage in this expedition at so advanced a season of the year, he was obliged to lay aside the design⁸⁴.

A.D. 1319. Though Edward was very far from being a war-like prince, his animosity against the Scots was so great, and his desire of revenging the dreadful defeat of Bannockburn so strong, that as soon as any degree of tranquillity was restored at home, he always resumed his designs against Scotland. Having spent the winter in the north, he held a parliament at York in the spring of this year; in which an expedition against Scotland was resolved upon. The barons and knights of shires granted an eighteenth, the citizens and burghesses a twelfth, and the clergy a tenth, to defray the expences of it; and all the military vassals of the crown were summoned to appear at Newcastle June 10⁸⁵. As all parties were now, in appearance at least, united, the troops which came to the rendezvous formed a very numerous army, which, marching from Newcastle, invested Berwick by land, September 1, while a fleet from the cinque-ports blocked it up by sea⁸⁶.

The English besiege Berwick.

⁸³ T. de la More, p. 594. Trivet. Contin. p. 29. Mon. Malmf. p. 187. Walsing. p. 111.

⁸⁴ Rymer, vol. 3. p. 742. 748. Walsing. p. 112.

⁸⁵ Mon. Malmf. p. 190. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 787.

⁸⁶ Mon. Malmf. p. 192.

The Scots did not attempt the relief of Berwick ; but formed a design of surprising and carrying off the queen of England, who lived in great security, with a slender guard, at a village near York. The execution of this design was committed to the renowned sir James Douglas, with a body of chosen troops, who marched into England with great secrecy and expedition. But their intention being discovered, the queen was removed to a place of safety ; and the archbishop of York, collecting the militia of the country, marched out September 20, and attacked the Scots. The prelate, and his undisciplined followers, were routed with great slaughter by Douglas and his hardy veterans ⁸⁷.

A.D. 1319.

The Scots make an incursion into England.

In the mean time the royal army before Berwick made little progress in the siege of that place ; which was soon after raised, each party throwing the blame of this miscarriage on the other ⁸⁸. Commissioners from England and Scotland met at Newcastle December 6, and, on the 21st of that month, concluded a truce between the two kingdoms for two years ⁸⁹. Thus ended this unfortunate campaign, which sunk the character of king Edward still lower in the eyes of his subjects, and contributed to revive the rage of party, which had been concealed, but not extinguished.

Siege of Berwick raised.

Edward, after the conclusion of the truce with Scotland, summoned a parliament to meet at York

A.D. 1320.
Parliament appointed, but did nothing.

⁸⁷ Walsing. p. 112. Mon. Malmf. p. 192, 193, 194.

⁸⁸ Mon. Malmf. p. 194.

⁸⁹ Rymer, vol. 3. p. 803—805, 809. 816.

A.D. 1320. in January; but the earl of Lancaster refusing to attend, it broke up without doing any business of importance⁹⁰.

Edward's
journey to
France.

Though it was not uncommon in those times for one king to hold territories of another by feudal tenure, nothing could be more inconvenient. This not only gave occasion to frequent disputes, but obliged the royal vassal to leave his own kingdom, to attend the court of the superior of these territories, to swear fealty, and perform his homage, at the accession of every new lord. The kings of England still held the duchy of Guienne, and the county of Poitou, of the kings of France; and Philip the Long having lately mounted that throne, he summoned his royal vassal of England to attend his court, and would admit of no excuse. Edward finding himself under a necessity of leaving his kingdom in its present unsettled state, embarked for France on June 19, and returned from thence on July 22⁹¹.

Parliament.

Soon after the king's return, a parliament was called, to meet at Westminster October 6, in which several good laws were made, for restoring the internal police of the kingdom, which had been much relaxed by the late disorders, and for vindicating the dominion of the crown of England over the narrow seas, which had been invaded by the Flemings⁹². But these salutary works of peace

⁹⁰ Rymer, vol. 3. p. 826. 835. 838, 839, 840.

⁹¹ Id. *ibid.* p. 861.

⁹² Riley Placit. Par. p. 401.

were

were soon succeeded by the horrors of civil war and devastation.

A.D. 1120.

Edward, naturally incapable of long application to serious business, fond of pleasures and amusements, and addicted to the attachments of private friendship to a degree which is hardly credible, had some time ago set his affections on a new favourite. This was Hugh Spenser, chamberlain of the household, a young gentleman of an ancient family, an ample fortune, and an amiable person; but extremely debauched, insufferably insolent, and insatiably covetous. Edward had married him to Eleanor, the eldest sister, and one of the three coheiresses, of the late earl of Gloucester; with whom he obtained almost the whole county of Glamorgan, as her share of that great inheritance⁹¹. But this was far from satiating his unbounded avarice: he encroached on the shares of his two sisters-in-law, and on various pretences invaded the rights and properties of almost every baron and gentleman in the neighbourhood of his estates. This behaviour soon rendered him the object of general terror and detestation, and obliged all who either felt or feared his oppressions to conspire his ruin, in order to prevent their own⁹². The earl of Hereford with many other lords in the marches of Wales, entering into a confederacy in the beginning of this year, raised an army, and com-

A.D. 1121.
Confederacy
against the
Spensers.

⁹¹ Dugdale Baron. vol. 1. p. 389.

⁹² Mon. Malm. p. 204, &c. Walsing. p. 113.

A.D. 1321. mitted dreadful ravages on Spenfer's estates in Glamorganshire, and other western counties. The confederates, to strengthen their party, and complete the ruin of their enemy, entered into an association, on June 28, with the earl of Lancaster and his partisans; and they all, to the number of about fifty, subscribed an instrument, binding themselves to pursue the two Spenfers, father and son, till they had driven them out of the kingdom, or got them into their hands⁹⁵. The elder Spenfer, whose name was also Hugh, was a person respectable for his age and wisdom, and had long maintained a fair and honourable character; but, by sharing too largely in the fruits of his son's favour with the king, he was involved in the same odium, and exposed to the same accusations with his son⁹⁶. The confederates, who by the accession of the earl of Lancaster and his party, were become very powerful, advanced with their army towards London, destroying the houses and plundering the estates of the elder Spenfer in their way. When they arrived at St. Alban's, they sent a message to the king, demanding the banishment of the two Spenfers; to which he returned this mild answer, that the elder Spenfer was beyond seas in his service, and the younger at sea guarding the cinque-ports; and that they could not be legally banished without a trial. The confederates, far from being satisfied with this answer, advanced with their army,

⁹⁵ Walsing. p. 213. J. Trokelowe, p. 48, 49. Tyrrel, vol. 4. p. 280.

⁹⁶ F. de la More, p. 594.

and took possession of London, whose citizens generally favoured their cause⁹⁷. A.D. 1321.

Edward was at this time holding a parliament at Westminster, which he had summoned to meet there July 15, to put an end to these disturbances in an amicable way. But the confederated lords, instead of attending the parliament, to which they had been summoned, held frequent consultations amongst themselves in London; in which having drawn up a sentence of forfeiture and banishment against the two Spensers, father and son, they brought it down to Westminster-hall, accompanied with an armed force, and got it confirmed by parliament⁹⁸. In the same manner they obtained from the king in parliament, August 19, a full pardon to themselves and their followers, for all the treasons, murders, and felonies, which they had committed, from the 1st of March to that day. After this, the confederated barons separated and returned home⁹⁹. The Spensers banished.

Though Edward found himself under a necessity of submitting in this manner to the imperious dictates of the confederated barons, he bore the yoke with much uneasiness; and an incident happened soon after which greatly inflamed his resentment. The queen going to Canterbury to perform some acts of devotion, sent her marshals to the castle of Leeds, belonging to the lord Bad-

Civil war.

⁹⁷ Walsing. p. 114. J. Trokelowe, p. 48—52.

⁹⁸ Tyrrel, vol. 4. p. 282.

⁹⁹ Mon. Malmf. p. 210, 211. Walsing. p. 114. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 891.

lesmere,

A.D. 1322. lesmere, to take up her lodgings, and provide for her reception; but the lady Badlesmere refused, first; the marshals, and afterwards the queen herself in person, admission into the castle¹⁰⁰. The haughty princess, enraged at this affront, flew back to London; and excited the king to avenge the indignity which had been offered her. Edward, who had many reasons to be offended with Badlesmere, hastily raised some troops, besieged the castle of Leeds, and obliged it to surrender on the last day of October; and, to strike terror into his enemies, he commanded the governor, and eleven inferior officers of the garrison, to be hanged¹⁰¹.

Successes
of Edward
against the
barons.

The Spenfers, hearing of this spirited and successful exertion of the royal authority, adventured to return to England: their banishment was declared illegal; and they encouraged the king to pursue vigorous measures, and to take vengeance on all his enemies¹⁰². Many other powerful barons, as the earls of Kent and Norfolk the king's younger brothers, Pembroke, Richmond, Arundel, Surrey, Athol, Angus, &c. disliking the violent measures of the confederates, and resenting the force which had been put upon them in the late parliament, repaired to the royal standard; and Edward soon saw himself at the head of a very powerful army. That he might give his enemies no time to renew their confederacy and prepare for their defence, he marched with great expedition,

¹⁰⁰ Walsing. p. 115. J. Trokelowe, p. 52.

¹⁰¹ Walsing. p. 115. J. Trokelowe, p. 53.

¹⁰² Kymer, vol. 3. p. 907.

about the middle of December, towards the borders of Wales. The royal army met with little opposition in its progress; the castles surrendered as soon as they were summoned, and the barons, surprised and unprepared, either fled, or surrendered themselves, and were thrown into different prisons. The earl of Hereford, and some others, with about three thousand followers, escaped into the north to join the earl of Lancaster¹⁰³. A.D. 1321.

As soon as the earl of Lancaster had heard that the king was raising an army, he began to prepare for his own defence. With this view, he had called a meeting of his partisans in the north, at Doncaster, 29th November last¹⁰⁴. No longer concealing his connections with the king of Scots, he sent John de Moubray and Roger de Clifford to that prince, who entered into a formal alliance with the confederates, engaging to support them with the whole power of his kingdom as soon as the truce expired. In consequence of this alliance, he sent a body of troops, under Thomas Randolph earl of Murray, and the lord James Douglas, two of his best generals, into Northumberland in the beginning of this year¹⁰⁵. The earl of Lancaster having collected his own numerous followers, being joined by the earl of Hereford, and depending on a powerful assistance from Scotland, no longer despaired of success, and A.D. 1322.
Lancaster
defeated
and taken
prisoner.

¹⁰³ Knyghton, col. 2540. Walsing. p. 116. Mon. Malmf. p. 214.

¹⁰⁴ Rymer, vol. 3. p. 899.

¹⁰⁵ Rymer, vol. 3. p. 926, 927. Mon. Malmf. p. 217. J. Trokelowe, p. 59.

marched.

A.D. 1332. marched with his army to obstruct the passage of the royalists over the Trent at Burton. The king having attempted to force a passage at this place in vain, for three days successively, at length passed at a ford a few miles higher; and on March 10, the two armies came within fight on the same side of the river. But the earl, either intimidated by the great numbers and resolute countenances of the royalists, or thinking it imprudent to hazard a battle without his whole force, retired without fighting, and marched northward to meet the Scots, and some other troops, who had not yet joined him. This was a fatal resolution; for this retreat looking like a flight, discouraged his followers, and made them desert in great numbers. On the 16th March, when he came to Boroughbridge, he found an army on the other side of the river, under the command of sir Simon Warde and sir Andrew de Harcla, ready to dispute the passage. The earl of Hereford was killed in attempting to force the bridge; and the earl of Lancaster being repulsed in endeavouring to pass the river at a ford, returned into the town of Boroughbridge, and was there taken next morning (with about a hundred barons and knights, and a much greater number of gentlemen), and carried prisoner to York. In this manner, these formidable confederates, who a few months before were predominant, were now either killed, captivated, or dispersed ¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁶ Walsing. p. 116. Mon. Malm. p. 218—222. J. Trokelowe, p. 53—58.

Edward,

Edward, now triumphant over all his enemies, arrived at Pontefract; and the earl of Lancaster being brought thither from York, was, after a short trial, condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but, by the king's lenity, was appointed to be beheaded¹⁰⁷. On Monday, March 22, this once potent earl was carried out of Pontefract, his own chief residence, mounted on a lean horse, without a bridle, in a fordid dress, to a hill about a mile distant, and there beheaded, with the same circumstances of mean and savage insult which he had used towards Gavaston a few years before¹⁰⁸: a fate unworthy of his royal blood and princely fortunes, but not altogether unmerited by his factious, turbulent, and rebellious disposition. About eighteen other barons and gentlemen of the party were executed, many escaped beyond seas, and a great number were confined in different prisons¹⁰⁹. Of the many great estates which were forfeited on this occasion, some few were bestowed on the earls of Pembroke, Richmond, and other barons, who had supported the royal cause; but the far greatest part of them was swallowed up by the blind abandoned avarice of the younger Spenser¹¹⁰.

A.D. 1322.

Lancaster
executed.

If Edward had been capable of making a right use of his present victory, by exercising severity to-

Edward's
imprudent
use of his
victory.¹⁰⁷ Walsing. p. 116. J. Trokelowe, p. 61.¹⁰⁸ Walsing. p. 117. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 926.¹⁰⁹ Walsing. p. 119. T. de la More, p. 596. J. Trokelowe, p. 63. Knyghton, col. 2541.¹¹⁰ Rymer, vol. 3. p. 940, 941. Dugd. Bar. vol. 1. p. 392, 393.

A.D. 1322.

wards a few of the most criminal and dangerous of the vanquished party, showing mercy to all the rest, and thereby gaining their affections, and dividing the spoils with an equal and prudent hand amongst the loyal barons, he would have laid a solid foundation for the future peace and tranquillity of his reign. But, by suffering his rapacious favourite to seize almost the whole, he drove his enemies to despair, and left his friends in discontent.

Parliament.

In a parliament which met at York on the 2d May, such of the famous ordinances (so strenuously supported by the Lancastrian party) as were inconsistent with the just rights of the crown were repealed, the late sentence against the Spensers declared illegal, and an expedition against Scotland resolved upon. The barons and knights of shires granted a tenth, the citizens and burghesses a sixth of their moveables, and the clergy five pence in the mark of their annual revenues, to defray the expences of that expedition ¹¹¹.

Expedition into Scotland.

The rendezvous of the army was appointed to be on July 24, at Newcastle; from whence they marched into Scotland ¹¹². The prudent Bruce did not think fit to hazard an engagement with the English, now united amongst themselves, and flushed with their late victories; but retiring before them, and carrying away all kinds of provisions, Edward and his army were soon reduced to great distress, and obliged to return into England ¹¹³.

¹¹¹ Rymer, vol. 3. p. 944. 952.¹¹² Id, *ibid*. p. 952, 953.¹¹³ Walling. p. 116, 117.

Ch. 1. § 3. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

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The Scots, following the rear of the retreating army, plundered the baggage, took the earl of Richmond and some others prisoners, almost surprised the king himself at Beland abbey, and carried their ravages to the gates of York ^{A.D. 1320.} ¹¹⁴.

Andrew de Hercla, who had lately been advanced to the earldom of Carlisle, and the government of the northern counties, for his good service in taking the earl of Lancaster, now entered into some secret engagements with the king of Scots of a suspicious nature, for which he was condemned and executed as a traitor ^{Andrew de Hercla executed.} ¹¹⁵. Thus ended this very busy year, in the former part of which Edward had been favoured with a very uncommon flow of success and prosperity.

Both the British nations being at length tired of this tedious and destructive war, negotiations for a long truce or peace were set on foot about the beginning of this year ^{A.D. 1323.} ¹¹⁶. After many meetings between the English and Scotch commissioners, at Newcastle and other places, a truce was concluded on March 30, 1323, to continue for thirteen years, by which Robert Bruce, though not directly acknowledged king of Scotland, was left in full possession of that kingdom ^{Long truce between England and Scotland.} ¹¹⁷. Some endeavours were soon after used to change this truce into a perpetual peace; but without effect ¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁴ Walsing. p. 117. J. Trokelowe, p. 63, 64. Muremut. p. 9.

¹¹⁵ Rymer, vol. 3. p. 973. 980. Walsing. p. 118. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 999. vol. 4. p. 4. J. Trokelowe, p. 65, 66.

¹¹⁶ Rymer, vol. 3. p. 1001—1004.

¹¹⁷ Rymer, vol. 3. p. 1022. Adam Muremuth, p. 60. Chron. Hen. de Blanforde, p. 705, 706. ¹¹⁸ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 14.

A.D. 1323.

Symptoms
of ap-
proaching
troubles.

England being now at peace with all her neighbours, and within herself, Edward and his favourite flattered themselves that they had overcome all difficulties. But this was only a deceitful calm; and a discerning eye might have observed several signs of an approaching storm. The Spensers, though wallowing in wealth, and basking in the sunshine of royal favour, could hardly appear in any place, without meeting with some indication of the public hatred. A band of desperadoes, under the conduct of one Robert Lewer, ravaged the estates of Hugh, the father, lately created earl of Winchester, and even attempted to seize his person. Several plots were formed to surprise the royal castles, where the state prisoners of the Lancastrian party were confined in order to set them at liberty; and the famous Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, one of the most daring and dangerous of that party, made his escape out of the tower of London, and got safe to France ¹¹⁹.

The king
of France
summons
Edward to
his court.

Philip *the Long*, king of France, having died in January 1322, was succeeded by his brother Charles *the Fair*, who, according to custom, summoned the king of England to come and perform his homage for his French dominions. Edward, not having complied with this summons, received one more peremptory in August this year, in all the necessary forms of law, requiring him to appear at Amiens on July 1, 1324, at furthest. Some disputes which had lately arisen in Guienne, rendered

¹¹⁹ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 26. Knyghton. M. West. Contin. T. de la More, p. 396. Walsing. p. 120. Mon. Malmf. p. 224, &c.

this

this affair more serious, and made the king of France insist the more positively on Edward's performing his homage in person ¹²⁰.

A.D. 1323.

While the day appointed for performing the homage was at a distance, Edward and his favourite enjoyed themselves in great tranquillity; but when it drew near, they became uneasy. A parliament was held at Westminster in the beginning of Lent, which being consulted on the expediency of the king's journey into France, advised to send an honourable embassy to endeavour to procure a delay. In consequence of this advice, the earl of Kent, and the archbishop of Dublin, were sent ambassadors to the court of France ¹²¹. The ambassadors were honourably entertained, but had no success in their negotiations. In the mean time the disputes in Guienne had been succeeded by hostilities, which were pushed with spirit and success by the French; and Edward began to make some preparations in England for an expedition into that country, for the defence of his territories. When things were come to this crisis, a private intimation was given to the English ambassadors, that if the queen of England would come over, she would prove the most successful mediatrix, and procure an accommodation on the most favourable terms. The bishop of Winchester then at Paris, took a journey to communicate this proposal to the court of England ¹²².

A.D. 1324.
Ambassadors sent to France.

¹²⁰ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 74. 98.

¹²¹ Walsing. p. 120, 121.

¹²² Rymer, vol. 4. p. 140. Walsing. p. 121.

A.D. 1325.

Queen
Isabella
sent to
France,
and makes
a treaty.

Edward, glad of any expedient to avoid a war, and suspecting no danger in this measure, complied with it, and sent the queen to visit her brother the king of France, and negotiate an accommodation between two princes to whom she was so nearly related ¹²³. The first negotiations of this royal ambassadress were attended with all the success which could have been expected from them. She, soon after her arrival, concluded a truce; and, on May 31, a definitive treaty of peace ¹²⁴. By this treaty, the disputed duchy of Guienne was to be put into the hands of the king of France, who engaged to restore it to Edward as soon as he had done homage for it in person; and it was stipulated, that this ceremony should be performed at Beauvais, on the 29th August. Though some of the terms of this treaty were not perfectly agreeable to Edward, yet, rather than lose Guienne, or engage in a war, he confirmed it ¹²⁵.

Spenser
opposes
the king's
voyage to
France.

Hugh Spenser, the king's favourite, was now in a most terrible dilemma. His aversion to this voyage to France had been the real cause of all the king's delays; and he had strong reasons for this aversion. On the one hand, he was no stranger to the secret enmity of queen Isabella against him; and therefore durst not accompany his master to the court of France, where she might have opportunities of executing her vengeance. On the other hand, if he staid behind, he was afraid of falling

¹²³ Adam Muremuth, p. 63.

¹²⁴ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 153—156.

¹²⁵ Id. *ibid.* p. 256.

a victim to the public hatred, when no longer protected by the presence of his sovereign ¹²⁶. For these reasons, Spenser had always opposed this voyage with the greatest violence. But a parliament, which met at London on June 25, having advised the king to execute the treaty, he seemed at length determined, and actually began his journey. He did not long persist in this resolution, so disagreeable to his favourite; for, when he arrived at the abbey of Langdon, near Dover, he fell sick, or pretended sickness, and sent to France to obtain a short delay ¹²⁷.

A.D. 1325.

When Edward and his favourite were in this perplexity, a new and unexpected overture came from the court of France, that, if the king of England would bestow his French dominions on his son Edward prince of Wales, the king of France would accept of the homage of that prince, and grant him the investiture of these territories. This proposal, by the persuasion of Spenser, was eagerly embraced by Edward; and executed with a rapidity which is hardly credible. The king conveyed all his French dominions to his son prince Edward, at Dover, on September 10; the prince sailed from that port on the 12th, and did his homage to the king of France, at Beauvais, on the 14th of the same month ¹²⁸. But the unhappy king Edward had soon reason to repent of this precipitation.

Edward
surrenders
his foreign
dominions
to his son,
and sends
him to
France.

¹²⁶ Mon. Malmf. p. 238.¹²⁷ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 163.¹²⁸ Du Tillet Recueil des Traités. Rymer, vol. 4. p. 165, 166. Walsing. p. 121. T. de la More, p. 592. Mon. Malmf. p. 239.

A.D. 1325.

The queen
refuses to
return to
England.

If the dark designs which now began to be disclosed were really formed before the queen left England, and those successive overtures from the court of France were in consequence of them, it must be confessed, that never any plot was laid with deeper policy, or executed with greater art; and a much wiser prince than Edward might have fallen into the snare. However this may be, it now appeared, that queen Isabella had far other ends in view than making peace between her brother and her husband: for, when that was accomplished, and she was invited to return home, she plainly declared, she never would return till Hugh Spenser was banished from the court and kingdom ¹²⁹.

The
queen's
intrigue
with Mor-
timer.

This declaration was like a clap of thunder to Edward and his favourite; and their consternation was soon after much increased by the intelligence brought them by the bishop of Exeter from the court of France. That wise and loyal prelate, who had been sent by Edward as guardian and counsellor to the prince of Wales, having observed, that the queen of England was continually surrounded with the fugitives and exiles of the Lancastrian faction, and having even discovered the infamous and criminal nature of her connections with Roger Mortimer, who had lately made his escape out of the tower of London, he hastened home in disguise to inform his injured master of these discoveries ¹³⁰.

¹²⁹ Walsing. p. 122. Mon. Malmf. p. 240, 241.

¹³⁰ Mon. Malmf. p. 240.

Edward,

Edward, greatly alarmed, both as a king and husband, wrote, in the most earnest manner, to the queen and prince to return home, and to the king of France to send them back. He called a council of his prelates and nobility to meet at Westminster, November 10, for their advice; and all the bishops agreed to write, in the strongest terms, to the queen to return with the prince her son¹³¹. But all these importunities were to no purpose. The cruel and perfidious Isabel, who had already injured Edward in his bed, had formed a plot to deprive him of his crown, perhaps of his life.

A.D. 1325.

Edward's efforts to recover his queen and son.

Though the king of France had not the virtue and generosity to crush those plots which were forming in his court against his unhappy brother-in-law, he did not think fit openly to countenance and support them. This obliged Isabel and her accomplices to seek the protection of some other prince, to enable them to execute their designs. Edward was on friendly terms with the sovereigns of Spain, Portugal, and Flanders, which prevented the conspirators from applying to any of these powers, and obliged them to have recourse to William count of Hainault and Holland. A negotiation was commenced, and in a little time concluded with that prince, who engaged to furnish the queen with a small fleet and some troops, to enable her to make a descent upon England; in

A.D. 1326.

Prince Edward contrasted to Philip of Holland.

¹³¹ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 180, 181, 182. T. de la More, p. 598. Adam Muremuth, p. 65. Mon. Malmf. p. 242, 243.

A.D. 1326. return for which favour, a marriage was contracted, between the prince of Wales and Philippa, the count's second daughter¹³².

**Edward's
prepara-
tions.**

Edward was not ignorant of these preparations which were making for an invasion of his kingdom, and of the correspondence which was carried on between the conspirators abroad and the malecontents at home; and did what he could to secure himself, both against his foreign and domestic enemies. Orders were sent to all the sea-ports, to search all passengers for letters, and to the sheriffs to seize all suspected persons¹³³. The warden of the cinque-ports, and the admirals of the north and south, were ordered to have their fleets ready to oppose a descent¹³⁴. All the military tenants of the crown were commanded, by proclamation, February 8, to have their followers in readiness; and soon after the prelates received a like command. Orders were also issued to apprehend the emissaries of the queen and prince, and the spreaders of false reports against the king¹³⁵. But all these royal mandates were very ill obeyed; and in many places entirely slighted.

**The queen
invades
England.**

The queen and her accomplices having spent the summer in making preparations for their intended expedition, embarked on board a small fleet at the Port of Dort in Holland; and, after a stormy passage, arrived September 24, at Orewell haven,

¹³² T. de la More, p. 598.

¹³³ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 183.

186, &c.

¹³⁴ Id. *ibid.* p. 187, 188, &c.

¹³⁵ Id. *ibid.* p. 200. 202,

near Walton, in Suffolk ¹³⁶. Besides the queen and prince, there came over in this fleet the earl of Kent, who had been betrayed into this conspiracy against his king and brother, Roger de Mortimer, the great mover of this enterprize, with 2757 men at arms, commanded by John de Beaumont, brother to the count of Hainault ¹³⁷. A small force to invade so great a kingdom, and dethrone so great a king! But they brought with them a whole army of political lies; which did incredible execution, rendered the unhappy Edward odious and contemptible in the eyes of his subjects, and made the deluded people look on the perfidious Isabel and the profligate Mortimer as the most illustrious patriots and deliverers of their country.

The queen, soon after her landing, published an artful manifesto, declaring, That she intended no harm to any but the Speners, and their creatures; that the sole design of her expedition was, to ease the people of their burdens, to reform the disorders of the government, and improve the liberties of the church ¹³⁸. In a little time she was joined by the earls of Norfolk, Leicester, Pembroke, and other barons; and by the bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Ely, and Lincoln, with their followers, who composed a numerous and powerful army; with which she advanced in pursuit of the king ¹³⁹.

The queen publishes a manifesto, and is joined by many.

¹³⁶ Walsing. p. 123. Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 366.

¹³⁷ Walsing. p. 123. M. Malmf. p. 243.

¹³⁸ Knyghton, col. 2764. Ypod. Neuff. p. 508. Walsing. p. 124.

¹³⁹ Walsing. p. 123. Ypod. Neuff. p. 507. T. de la More, p. 598. Adam Muremuth, p. 66.

Edward

A.D. 1326.

Edward
leaves
London.

Edward was at London when he received the news of the queen's landing; from whence he issued a proclamation, September 28, commanding all his subjects to make war upon and destroy these invaders, except the queen, prince, and earl of Kent; and published a reward of 1000 l. for the head of Mortimer¹⁴⁰. Having attempted in vain to arm the citizens of London in his cause, he left that city, accompanied by the two Spencers, chancellor Baldock, and a slender retinue, directing his march towards Bristol, where he hoped to raise an army to oppose his enemies¹⁴¹.

Violences
of the
London-
ers.

As soon as the king left London, the mob of that place assembled in great multitudes, and proceeded to the most outrageous acts of violence, plundering and murdering all whom they suspected of having any connection with the Spencers, or attachment to the king. Amongst others, they seized the bishop of Exeter, dragged him to the cross in Cheapside, cut off his head, and threw his body into the river¹⁴².

Edward
flees into
Wales.

In the mean time the wretched king, abandoned almost by all the world, and closely pursued by a detachment of the queen's army, durst not stay in Bristol; but leaving that city under the command of the elder Spencer, he passed over into Wales, in hopes of finding more loyalty among the ancient Britons¹⁴³.

¹⁴⁰ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 231—233.¹⁴¹ Walsing. p. 123.¹⁴² T. de la More, p. 599. Walsing. p. 124.¹⁴³ Adam Muremuth, p. 67. Walsing. p. 125.

Bristol

Bristol was immediately besieged, and in a few days surrendered; by which Hugh Spenser, the father, earl of Winchester, fell into the hands of his enemies; and the queen, with her whole army, coming to Bristol on October 26, this venerable nobleman, in the ninetieth year of his age, was, the day after, without any formal trial, hanged upon a gibbet, and his body cut in pieces, and thrown to the dogs¹⁴⁴. So much had civil rage hardened the hearts, and inflamed the passions, of the humane and generous English!

A.D. 1326.

Bristol
taken.

At the same time and place Edward prince of Wales was declared regent of the kingdom by the prelates and barons in the queen's army; which soon after marched to Hereford, where it continued about a month¹⁴⁵. Here the earl of Arundel was condemned and executed as a traitor, though his chief crime seems to have been his having contracted an alliance with the Spensers, by marrying his eldest son to a daughter of Hugh the younger¹⁴⁶.

Prince of
Wales
proclaim-
ed regent.

The king, after his departure from Bristol, having made an unsuccessful attempt to raise an army in Wales, embarked for Ireland, in hopes of finding there some refuge from the pursuit of his enemies. But after beating about for several days in the Severn sea, contending with contrary winds and stormy weather, he relanded near Swansea,

Edward
taken.
Spenser
executed.

¹⁴⁴ Leland's Collectanea, vol. 1. p. 673. Walsingham, p. 125.
T. de la More, p. 599.

¹⁴⁵ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 237.

¹⁴⁶ Knyghton, p. 2545.

A.D. 1326. and concealed himself, with a few followers, in the monastery of Neath¹⁴⁷. His retreat was soon discovered; and he fell into the hands of Henry earl of Lancaster on November 16, who conducted him, first to Monmouth, from whence he was removed to Kenelworth castle¹⁴⁸. With the king was taken his chancellor Robert Baldock, and, in a neighbouring wood, his most obnoxious and hated favourite Hugh Spenser. This last was conducted to Hereford, where the queen and prince lay with their army; and on November 24, he was there hanged on a gibbet fifty feet high: his head was sent as an agreeable present to the citizens of London, who set it with great triumph upon the bridge¹⁴⁹. Baldock, being a priest, escaped immediate execution; but soon after died in great misery, in the prison of Newgate, of the severe usage which he there received¹⁵⁰.

State of
England.

England was at this time a scene of great confusion: government was dissolved, the courts of justice shut, and lawless violence every where reigned. The mob of London, and of other cities, who were called *the riflers*, plundered and murdered whom they pleased, without controul¹⁵¹.

A.D. 1327.
Edward
II. depos-
ed.

The queen and Mortimer, by whose direction all affairs were conducted, now began to discover another part of their plot; which was, to depose

¹⁴⁷ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 238, 239.

¹⁴⁸ Walsing. p. 126.

Mon. Malmf. p. 244.

¹⁴⁹ Walsing. p. 126. Mon. Malmf.

¹⁵⁰ Walsing. p. 126.

¹⁵¹ M. West. Contin. Walsing. p. 125.

the

the king, whom they had got into their hands, and place the prince of Wales upon the throne, who being but fourteen years of age, was entirely under their management. With this view, they called a parliament, in the name of the prince, as guardian of the kingdom, to meet at Westminster January 7. As soon as the parliament met, which consisted entirely of the accomplices and favourers of the queen, the deposition of the king, and the elevation of the prince of Wales to the throne, were brought upon the carpet. But these questions were far from being debated with that calmness which their importance required: the house was every day surrounded by the London mob, and every thing conducted with clamour and violence. At length, on Tuesday the 13th January, the prince was seated on the throne; and a charge, digested into six articles, exhibited against the king; for which he was deposed from his royal dignity, and the prince proclaimed king in his stead¹⁵². The articles of this charge, considering by whom it was brought, were not of so high a nature as might have been expected, consisting of alleged incapacity for government; negligence; spending his time in trifling amusements; violating some of the immunities of the church; banishing, disinheriting, and putting to death many noblemen, meaning those of the Lancastrian faction¹⁵³. On this general charge, without any proof, or any opportunity of answering

¹⁵² *Anglia Sacra*, vol. 1. p. 367. *Walsing.* p. 126. *Ypodigma Neuftrix*, p. 508.

¹⁵³ *Knyghton*, p. 2765. *Walsing.* p. 127.

A.D. 1327. for himself, was this unhappy prince divested of his crown.

Commis-
sioners
sent to the
deposed
king.

When the news of the king's deposition was brought to his cruel and perfidious queen, she counterfeited the most violent and inconsoleable grief, shedding a flood of tears, and even falling into fits; and the prince (probably with more sincerity) declared, that he never would accept of the crown in his father's lifetime without his consent. To remove these scruples of the prince, and render this whole transaction the more plausible, the parliament appointed a deputation of their number to attend upon the king at Kenelworth, to intimate to him the sentence of his deposition, and procure his consent¹⁵⁴. The bishops of Hereford and Lincoln, two of this deputation, and the king's most inveterate enemies, were first sent into his presence; and having, by threats and promises, brought him to a feigned submission, the other parliamentary commissioners were introduced. As soon as the wretched Edward beheld them, he sunk down to the floor in a swoon, from whence being recovered, the deputies performed their office; to which the king replied, That he was in their power, and submitted to their will¹⁵⁵. Judge Trussel, who attended the commissioners, in a formal manner, in name of the prelates, earls, barons, and people of England, as their procurator, renounced all homage, fealty, and obedience to

¹⁵⁴ Walsing. p. 128. T. de la More, p. 600.

¹⁵⁵ Mnyghton, p. 2530.

Edward;

Edward¹⁵⁶; and then sir Thomas Blount, high steward, breaking his staff, and declaring all the king's officers discharged from their service, this uncommon ceremony ended, and with it the unprosperous reign of Edward II. on January 20, 1327, after it had continued nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days. A.D. 1327.

That we may not have occasion to resume this mournful subject, we shall attend the degraded monarch to his grave, referring the other public transactions of this year to the succeeding reign, to which they most properly belong. Edward, after his deposition, was for some time committed to the custody of his cousin Henry earl of Lancaster, who treated him with great tenderness and humanity. But this was by no means agreeable to the dispositions and designs of the queen and Mortimer, who therefore took him out of the hands of that nobleman, April 3, and put him into the custody of Thomas lord Berkeley, John de Mautravers, and sir Thomas Gournay, who were to keep him, each a month, by turns¹⁵⁷. Even these new keepers were not equally savage, the lord Berkeley treating him with much more humanity than the other two, who probably designed to break his heart by their hard usage¹⁵⁸. They hurried him from castle to castle in the night-time, thinly clothed, and without any covering to his

Treatment
of the de-
posed king.

¹⁵⁶ Knyghton, p. 2550. Mon. Malmf. p. 244.

¹⁵⁷ T. de la More, p. 600. Walsing. p. 127.

¹⁵⁸ T. de la More, p. 603. Walsing. p. 127.

A.D. 1327. head¹⁵⁹. Mautravers, one day commanding him to be shaved with cold and dirty water, the fallen monarch was so much affected with this indignity, that he burst into tears, which bedewing his face, he said, with a smile of grief, "See, I have provided clean and warm water, whether you will or not¹⁶⁰."

Murder of
king Ed-
ward.

While this wretched prince was suffering these and many other insults from the hands of his cruel keepers, a great change was gradually working in the sentiments of his late subjects in his favour. The people of England had been wrought up into the most violent rage against the weak, misguided Edward, as a cruel and execrable tyrant, and into the highest admiration of the queen and Mortimer, as angels sent from heaven for their deliverance. But when the true characters of these last, and the criminal nature of their union, came to be better known, the people began to open their eyes, to see they had been deluded, and to pity the sufferings of their wretched sovereign. In consequence of this, several schemes were formed by the people of Bristol, the Dominican friars, and others, for setting Edward at liberty¹⁶¹. But these schemes served only to hasten the cruel fate of this unhappy prince. For the queen and Mortimer, not thinking themselves safe while he was alive, sent orders to their tools, Gournay and Mautravers, to dispatch him immediately. These well-chosen instruments of

¹⁵⁹ T. de la More, p. 600.

¹⁶⁰ Anonymi Hist. p. 838.

¹⁶¹ Leland. Col. vol. 2. p. 475, 476. Walsing. p. 127.

cruelty

cruelty obeyed this command; and seizing the opportunity when the king was at Berkeley-castle, and the lord Berkeley confined at Bradley by sickness, they threw the king upon a bed, and thrust a red hot iron through a horn into his fundament, which made him fill the whole castle with his shrieks, and soon put an end to his life by the most exquisite torments¹⁶². Thus perished Edward of Caernarvon, on the 21st September 1327, in the forty-third year of his age.

A.D. 1327.

Edward II. is said to have borne a great resemblance to his illustrious father in the stature, strength, and beauty of his person; but unhappily the resemblance was not so great in the qualities of the mind. Though not remarkably deficient in personal courage, he had no talents for war, nor was he better qualified for the conduct of political intrigues, being passionate, talkative, and irresolute. He was guilty of many follies, but of few vices; and spent his time rather in a frivolous than in a criminal manner. But the most striking feature in this prince's character, was his unbounded and inviolable attachment to his two successive favourites, Gavaston and Spenser. This was the real cause of all the calamities of his reign, the miseries of his life, and the violence of his death. For these unworthy favourites, by their imprudence, insolence, ambition, and avarice, excited universal hatred and indignation, and brought ruin upon themselves and their too indulgent master.

Character
of Edward
II.¹⁶² T. de la More, p. 603. Walsing. p. 127.

A.D. 1327. Edward had, by his queen, Isabel of France, two sons and two daughters, viz. Edward his eldest son and successor, born at Windsor, 13th November 1312; John, his youngest son, born at Eltham, 1st August 1316, died at Perth, unmarried, in 1334; his eldest daughter, Jane, born in the tower of London, and married to David Bruce king of Scotland; and Eleanor, born at Woodstock, and married to the duke of Guikers.

**History of
Scotland.**

ALL the most important events in the history of Scotland, from the accession of Edward II. to the long truce A. D. 1323, are interwoven with that of England, and have been related. The short interval between that and the time of his death was employed by the illustrious king Robert Bruce, in regulating the internal police of his kingdom, and securing the succession of his crown to his only son David, then an infant; and failing him, to Robert Stewart, the only son of his daughter the princess Marjory¹⁶³.

¹⁶³ Fordun, l. 13. c. 12.

SECTION IV.

The civil and military history of Britain, from the accession of Edward III. 24th January A. D. 1327, to the accession of Richard II. 21st June A. D. 1377.

THE reign of Edward III. may be said to A.D. 1327.
 have commenced on 24th January 1327, Accession
of Edward
III.
 as on that day his peace was proclaimed in London, which in those times was the first act of royalty in each reign¹. He was crowned in Westminster abbey, on 1st February, by the archbishop of Canterbury².

The parliament which had deposed Edward II. Regency
appointed
by parliament,
&c.
 was still sitting, and appointed a council of regency, consisting of the archbishops of Canterbury and York; the bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Hereford; the earls of Lancaster, Norfolk, Kent, and Surry; the lords Percy, Wake,ingham, and Roos. The earl of Lancaster was declared chief of this council, and guardian of the young king's person, who was little more than fourteen years of age. But notwithstanding this appointment of a regency, the king and all his authority were in the hands of the queen and Mortimer³. The same parliament reversed the

¹ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 243—245.

² Id. *ibid.* p. 244. Walsing. p. 126.

³ Heming. t. 2. p. 270. Leland's Collection. vol. 2. p. 476.

A.D. 1327. attainders which had been passed some years before against the late earl of Lancaster and his adherents⁴, confiscated the estates of the Spensers and their creatures; granted the sum of 20,000*l.* to the queen to pay her debts, and assigned her a jointure of 20,000*l.* a year; an immense sum in those times. The queen and her favourite appropriated to themselves the far greatest part of the prodigious treasures and estates of the Spensers, and were very soon as much and as universally hated as their former proprietors.

The citizens of London pardoned.

As the citizens of London had contributed so much to bring about the late revolution, they were rewarded with a pardon of all the acts of violence which they had committed, and with a new charter containing many ample privileges⁵. A peace was concluded with France, which put an end to the war in Guienne, which had been made an engine to ruin the late unhappy king⁶.

Invasion of England by the Scots.

It is highly probable, that the internal tranquillity of the new government would not have been of long continuance, if the attention of all parties had not been engaged by a threatened invasion from a foreign enemy. Though the truce between England and Scotland was not yet expired, Robert Bruce, thinking it dissolved by the deposition of the king with whom it had been made, and looking upon this as a favourable opportunity of mak-

⁴ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 258, 259.

⁵ Rymeri Fœd. t. 4. p. 245. 257, 258.

⁶ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 264—266. 280.

ing such an impresson upon England as would procure him an honourable peace, raised an army, and prepared for an invasion⁷. A.D. 1327.

The English administration, after attempting in vain to bring about an accommodation, likewise prepared for war, and raised a gallant army of sixty, some say one hundred thousand men, at the head of which appeared the young king, full of martial ardour. The march of this army was retarded some time at York, by an unfortunate quarrel which happened there between the English archers and the foreign troops under John de Hainault, in which several persons were slain on both sides⁸. This quarrel being at last composed, the army marched northward 10th July, and arriving at Durham on the 13th, received intelligence that an army of Scots had passed the Tyne, and committed dreadful ravages all over the country. Edward having rested and refreshed his army at Durham a few days, set out, July 18, in quest of those destroyers. But though he sometimes discovered where they were, by the smoke of burning villages, and other marks of desolation, he could not overtake, or bring them to an engagement. The Scotch army, commanded by the two illustrious chiefs, Randolph earl of Murray and lord James Douglas, consisted of about twenty thousand men, unincumbered with baggage, and all mounted, four thousand of them on

Expedition of Edward III. in the north.

⁷ Froissart, l. i. c. 16.

⁸ Id. *ibid.* c. 17. Leland Collect. v. 2. p. 475. Walsing. p. 127. Knighton, col. 2551.

A.D. 1327. good horses, the rest on little galloways, which enabled them to elude the pursuit of a much more powerful enemy⁹.

Edward
endea-
vours to
find and
fight the
Scots.

Edward, after spending some days in this fruitless chace, marched northward, passed the Tyne, and posted his army in the route by which he expected the Scots would return into their own country¹⁰. But after spending a week in this position, in great want of provisions, without hearing any thing of the enemy, he repassed the river. He was now so much at a loss for intelligence, that he promised a pension of 100*l.* a year to him who should bring the first account of the situation of the Scotch army¹¹. The hopes of this reward sent many adventurers in search of the Scots; and one Thomas Rokesby having discovered them, brought intelligence that they were encamped, at no great distance, on the south banks of the river Were. Edward marched in great haste towards the enemy, determined to give them battle that very day; but, on his arrival, found, to his inexpressible vexation, that they had chosen their ground so well, that it was dangerous to attack them. Impatient for an engagement, he sent a challenge to the Scotch commanders to march out and decide the quarrel in a fair and open field. The fiery Douglas would perhaps have fallen into this snare, if he had not been restrained by the cooler

⁹ Froissart, l. 1. c. 18. ¹⁰ Id. *ibid.* c. 19.

¹¹ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 312. Froissart, l. 4. c. 19.

counfels

counfels of his colleague, Randolph, who replied, A.D. 1327.
that he paid no regard to the desires of an enemy ²².

The Scots, not thinking themselves perfectly safe in their present situation, marched in great silence, in the night-time, some miles farther up the river, and took possession of a more advantageous camp; and the English army following them the next day, encamped on the opposite bank ²³. While the two armies lay here facing one another, the lord Douglas formed the bold design of surprizing the king of England in the midst of his army. With this view, having by some means got the word, he entered the English camp about midnight, August 4, attended by two hundred of his most daring followers, and advanced near the royal tent without discovery; but when he was on the point of seizing his prey, the alarm being given, and some of the king's guards making a desperate resistance, he escaped in the dark to a place of safety; and Douglas, having killed about three hundred of the enemy, returned to his friends with little loss ²⁴. The Scots, after this disappointment, resolved on a retreat, which they effected on August 6. By de-camping silently in the night, and marching with great expedition, they got the start of the English army so far, that it was thought in vain to pursue them ²⁵. Edward, greatly mortified at the escape

Douglas
attempts
to surprize
Edward.

²² Froissart, l. 1. c. 19.

²³ Id. ibid.

²⁴ Knyghton, p. 2552. Froissart, l. 4. c. 19.

²⁵ Froissart, l. 1. c. 19.

A.D. 1327. of his enemies, marched first to Durham, and then to York, where the army separated ¹⁶.

Peace between
England
and Scotland.

The young monarch breathed nothing but war and revenge against the Scots; but the queen and Mortimer had other designs in view. They imagined it would be a great advantage and security to themselves to have a peace with Scotland, and obtain the friendship, and, in case of need, the assistance, of its king. On the other hand, Robert Bruce being almost worn out with infirmities, was earnestly desirous of leaving his infant son at peace with all his neighbours, especially with England. Commissioners from both powers met at Newcastle in November, and settled the articles of a treaty of peace between England and Scotland ¹⁷. By one article of this famous treaty, the king of England renounced, for himself and his successors, all claim to any superiority over the kings or kingdom of Scotland, and agreed to deliver up all evidences of such superiority ¹⁸. By another article a marriage was concluded between David prince of Scotland and the princess Jane, Edward's eldest sister. In consideration of these great advantages, Bruce agreed to pay to England the sum of 30,000 marks; which is said to have been divided between the queen and Mortimer. Though this treaty was exceedingly unpopular in England, and greatly increased the public hatred against the well-known authors of it; yet they had still influence enough to

¹⁶ Froissart, l. i. c. 23.

¹⁷ Rymer, t. 4. p. 328. 335—338.

¹⁸ Rymer, t. 4. p. 338—410.

get it confirmed by parliament in April A. D. A.D. 1328.
1328¹⁹.

Though Edward was not yet sixteen years of age, his marriage with Philippa, daughter of William III. count of Hainault and Holland, was solemnized at York, January 24, with great pomp²⁰. In consequence of an article of the peace with Scotland, the queen-mother of England conducted to Berwick her daughter the princess Jane, who was there married, July 17, to the prince of Scotland. With the princess were delivered up, and carried into Scotland, many of the jewels, charters, and other things, which had been taken from thence by Edward I²¹. Thus ended that long and bloody war between the two British kingdoms, which involved them both in very great calamities, and gave birth to that national animosity, which laid a foundation for many future wars.

Royal
marriages.

The hatred and jealousy of some of the chief nobility against Mortimer were now become so great, that they declined attending several parliaments which were called this year, at Northampton, York, and Salisbury. At the last of these parliaments, which was held in October, Mortimer was created earl of March, which served equally to increase his insolence and the animosity of his enemies. The earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, with other discontented barons, meeting at London,

Confederacy
against
Mortimer.

¹⁹ A. Murimuth. p. 72. Ypodyg. Neust. p. 510.

²⁰ Knyghton, col. 2552. Heming. p. 269. Walsing. p. 128.

²¹ Knyghton, col. 2553. Fordun, l. 13. c. 14. Carte, vol. 2.

p. 397. from *Annal. ad an. 1377*.

A.D. 1328. in December, entered into a confederacy to call Mortimer to an account, for the murder of the late king, for depriving the council of regency of all authority, for embezzling the public treasure, for the dishonourable peace with Scotland, and several other crimes ²².

A.D. 1329. Both parties now began to raise forces and prepare for war; the barons trusting to their own power and the popularity of their cause, and Mortimer depending on the person and authority of the king, which were in his possession. But the earls of Kent and Norfolk, being princes of little courage or capacity, began to dread the consequences of carrying things to extremity, and, by the intervention of some prelates, made their peace with the court. This obliged the earl of Lancaster soon after to submit to an accommodation, by which all disputes were referred to a parliament, to be called for composing these differences, and reforming the government ²³. But other matters intervening, prevented the meeting of this healing and reforming parliament.

**Edward's
voyage to
France.**

Charles the Fair, king of France, having died some time ago without male issue, was succeeded by his cousin Philip de Valois, who had summoned Edward to come over and perform his homage for his French dominions ²⁴. This summons was very unwelcome on several accounts. It ill agreed with the high spirit of Edward to go through the hu-

²² J. Barne's Hist. Ed. III. p. 31.

²³ Knyghton, p. 2554.

²⁴ Rymer, t. 4. p. 321.

miliating ceremony of doing homage; but it still worse agreed with the ambitious designs of claiming the crown of France, to give such a formal recognition of Philip's right to that crown. However, as he was not yet prepared for asserting his claim, nor could obtain any further delay, he resolved to comply with the summons, making a protestation before his own council, that what he did was by constraint, and should not be considered as a renunciation of his right to the crown of France. Having taken this precaution, he sailed from Dover, on Friday, May 26, did homage to the king of France at Amiens, and returned to Dover on Whitsunday, June 11²⁵. In this short visit Edward was so much charmed with the splendour of the court of France, the beauty and riches of the country, that he became more resolved than ever to assert his fatal claim to that kingdom.

Though a seeming reconciliation had lately taken place between the earl of Kent and Mortimer, it was far from being sincere. A report prevailed at this time all over England (raised and propagated, as it is believed, by Mortimer and his agents, for the most pernicious purposes), that Edward II. was still alive, and confined in Corfe castle. This report was industriously sent to the ears of the earl of Kent, and the truth of it confirmed by sir James Devernel the governor of Corfe castle, who, though he would not admit the earl to see the king his bro-

A.D. 1329.

A.D. 1330.
Earl of Kent, the king's uncle, condemned and executed.²⁵ Rymer, t. 4. p. 386, 387. 390.

ther,

A.D. 1330. ther, promised to deliver him a letter. The unwary Kent fell into the snare, wrote a letter to his brother, in which he promised to exert all his power, in conjunction with his other friends, to set him at liberty, and restore him to the throne. This letter he gave to the perfidious governor, who immediately sent it to Mortimer, by whom he had been employed. As soon as the queen and her wicked paramour had got this letter into their hands, they procured a parliament to be called, to meet at Winchester on March 11²⁶. Parliaments at this time consisted rather of the chiefs of a faction than the representatives of a free people, few attending them but the partisans of the queen and her favourite. The intended victim, the earl of Kent, was in a very earnest manner invited to this meeting by the king, or rather by those who abused his name; and as soon as he arrived at Winchester he was arrested. On the 16th of March he was condemned by parliament of high treason, on the absurd accusation of designing to raise a dead man to the throne; and on the 19th of the same month this iniquitous sentence was executed²⁷. While this scene of iniquity was acting, the young king was engaged in a succession of amusements, which left him no leisure for reflection till it was too late.

Birth of
the Black
Prince.

Not long after this branch was thus cruelly cut off from the royal family, another sprung up in its

²⁶ Concil. M. Brit. p. 557.

²⁷ Leland Col. vol. 2. p. 477. Walsing. p. 510. Knyghton, p. 2552. Heming. p. 271. R. de Avesbury, p. 8.

room;

room; the young queen being delivered at Wood-
 stoke, June 15, of a son, who was afterwards so
 well known to the world, and to posterity, by the
 name of *the Black Prince*²⁸. A.D. 1330.

Nor did Mortimer triumph much longer in his
 successful villanies. The king, being now near
 eighteen years of age, and seeing himself a father,
 resolved to take the reins of government into his
 own hands, and to emancipate himself from the
 tutelage of the queen-mother and her minion,
 whom he had many reasons both to hate and fear.
 He was encouraged in this design by many noble-
 men who hated Mortimer; and a plan was laid for
 seizing him at the next parliament, which was to
 meet fifteen days after Michaelmas, at Notting-
 ham²⁹. But it was not so easy to execute this de-
 sign, Mortimer, both from a principle of vanity,
 and with a view to safety, being continually at-
 tended with a great retinue of armed knights. On
 his arrival at Nottingham with queen Isabel, they
 took possession of the castle of that place, with a
 guard of one hundred and eighty knights; and the
 queen had the keys of the castle every night deli-
 vered to her, which she put under her pillow.
 The king, at his coming, was admitted into the
 castle, but only with a few attendants, the rest of
 his retinue being lodged in the town. In this situ-
 ation of things, it was impossible to accomplish the
 design without the assistance of sir William Eland,
 the governor; who, entering heartily into the king's

Mortimer
 imprison-
 ed.

²⁸ Walsing. p. 130.

²⁹ Knyghton, p. 2555.

measures,

A.D. 1331. and impartially administered; and gave new life and vigour to all parts of the constitution³⁸. Happy had it been for his own kingdom, as well as for the neighbouring nations, if he had always employed his great talents in these beneficent arts of peace. But it soon appeared that he was deeply tainted with ambition; the vice of great minds, and the source of infinite mischiefs.

A.D. 1332. Scotland about this time sustained an irreparable loss by the deaths of three of the greatest men that ever fought her battles. These were, the king Robert Bruce, the lord James Douglas, who had been killed in Spain, and Randolph earl of Moray, regent of the kingdom, who died this year, July 20³⁹. He was succeeded in the regency by Donald earl of Marr⁴⁰.

Claims of English barons in Scotland.

By one article of the late peace with England, it was stipulated, that some English noblemen should be restored to their estates in Scotland. The execution of this article was delayed from time to time, for reasons which are not certainly known, by the king of Scots and the regent. Several just and warm remonstrances were made on this subject by the court of England; which produced nothing but excuses from that of Scotland⁴¹.

Edward Baliol and some English barons invade Scotland.

The English noblemen, seeing no end of these delays, formed a design to attempt a revolution in Scotland, in favour of the Baliol family, as the most effectual way to get possession of their estates

³⁸ Cotton's Abridg.

⁴⁰ Id. *ibid.* c. 22.

³⁹ Fordun, l. 43. c. 14. 19. 21.

⁴¹ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 461. 471, 472. 518.

in that kingdom. With this view the lord Edward Baliol, who was living as a private man on his estates in France, was invited into England, with promises of assistance in prosecuting his claim to the crown of Scotland which his father had sometime worn. Edward, who wanted neither courage nor ambition, accepted the invitation; and on his arrival in the north of England, with forty knights in his company, he was joined by the earls of Athole and Angus, the lords Beaumont, Wake, Waren, and several other barons, who raised a body of 2500 men, well armed⁴². This was too small a force to make an attempt upon the south of Scotland, where the people were used to arms, and continually upon their guard. They therefore embarked at Ravenspur, and sailing up the frith of Forth, landing at Kinghorn August 6, dispersing, with much ease and great slaughter, a crowd of country people, who had assembled hastily to oppose their landing⁴³.

A.D. 1138.

This first success was followed by others still greater and more surprising. The earl of Marr, with the assistance of the noblemen in those parts, collected in a few days an army, as it is said, of 40,000 men. But all the proceedings of this confused rabble were rash and tumultuary. Depending on their numbers, they kept no guard, and were surprised in their camp on the banks of the river

Successes
of Baliol
and the
English.

⁴² Walsing. p. 121. Heming. p. 273. Knyght. col. 2560.

⁴³ M. West. Contin. Knyghton, p. 2560. R. de Avesbury, p. 22. Heming. p. 272. Ford. l. 13. c. 22.

A.D. 1332.

Ern, not far from Perth, in the night between the 11th and 12th of August, and routed with great slaughter. Next morning, a great number of fugitives rallying, and ashamed of what had happened, returned to the charge, but with such passionate precipitation, that they were again thrown into confusion, and put to flight. In these two actions the Scotch, besides an incredible number of private men, lost the earls of Marr, Carrick, and Monteith, with several other lords, and many gentlemen, which threw the whole kingdom into such consternation, that it was thought proper to send their young king and queen into France for their safety. Baliol pursuing this favourable gale of good fortune, took possession of Perth without resistance, and on the 27th September he was crowned king of Scotland at Scone⁴⁴.

Edward
marches
into the
north.

Though the king of England had taken no part publicly in these transactions, it is highly probable that they were not undertaken by his subjects without his knowledge and consent. It is at least certain, that he granted Baliol a safe-conduct for his coming into England; a presumptive proof that he did not disapprove of his design. But however this may be, Edward was holding a parliament at Westminster when he received the news of this surprising revolution in Scotland, and was advised by that assembly to march immediately with a

⁴⁴ R. de Avesbury, p. 22, 23. Heming, p. 272, 273, 274. Knyghton, p. 2559. Fordun, l. 13. c. 22, 23, 24, 25. Buchanan, lib. 9. Walsing. p. 132.

good army into the north, that he might be at hand to act as occasion should require ⁴⁵. A.D. 1332.

While Edward was on his march into the north, Baliol executed letters patent at Roxburgh, dated November 23, subjecting the crown and kingdom of Scotland to the crown of England, engaging to deliver the town of Berwick to Edward, and to marry his sister the princess Jane, if her marriage with his rival David Bruce could be dissolved ⁴⁶. Baliol subjects the kingdom of Scotland to England.

Not long after this, Baliol, observing the country in a state of seeming tranquillity, dismissed his troops, and retired to Annan with a slender retinue to keep his Christmas; but here he was attacked in the night by sir Archibald Douglas, young Randolph earl of Moray, and sir Simon Fraser, so suddenly, that with great difficulty he got on horseback, without a saddle, and escaped to Carlisle almost naked, leaving his brother Henry dead behind him, and all his baggage in the hands of his enemies. Thus did Baliol lose his crown by a change of fortune more sudden and surprising than that by which he had gained it ⁴⁷. Baliol expelled.

Edward was in York when he heard of this second revolution in Scotland, and consulted his parliament, which met in that city, January 5, whether he should content himself with the superiority, or attempt to obtain the sovereignty of that kingdom. But the parliament, for reasons which A.D. 1333.
Edward consults his parliament

⁴⁵ Rymer, t. 4. p. 533, 534. 540.

⁴⁶ Id. ibid. p. 536, 537, 538, 539.

⁴⁷ Walsing. p. 132. Knyghton, p. 2561. Fordun, l. 13. c. 25.

A.D. 1133. are not certainly known, did not think fit to give him any advice on that important question⁴⁸.

The Scots
invade
England.

The Scots, not contented with having expelled Baliol, renewed their plundering incursions into the north of England; which greatly incensed Edward against them; and made him hasten his preparations for the re-establishment of Baliol⁴⁹. He called a parliament to meet at York, in the beginning of March; which being equally incensed against the Scots for their depredations, no longer observed their former silence, but advised Edward to attempt the recovery of Berwick and the reduction of Scotland, promising to assist him with all their power⁵⁰.

Edward
besieges
Berwick.

Edward was not slow in following an advice so agreeable to his inclinations. He appointed the rendezvous of his army to be at Newcastle, May 2, from whence he marched, and invested Berwick on all sides. The place was provided with a numerous garrison, and made a brave defence; but the siege was pushed with so much vigour, that it was obliged to capitulate on July 16, and agreed to surrender on Tuesday the 20th, at sun-rising, if not relieved before that time; and sir W. Keith, governor of the town, was allowed to go to the regent of Scotland, and solicit relief⁵¹.

Battle of
Hallowhill.

Lord Archibald Douglas, regent of Scotland for king David Bruce, had collected a numerous

⁴⁸ Cotton's Abridg. p. 14.

⁴⁹ Rymer, t. 4. p. 551, 552. Heming. p. 274.

⁵⁰ Walsing. p. 133. Knyghton, col. 2562.

⁵¹ Rymer, t. 4. p. 564, 568.

army, with which he had invaded England, in hopes of drawing Edward from the siege of Berwick to the protection of his own country. But the importunities of sir W. Keith prevailed upon him to change his plan of operations, and march directly towards Berwick for its relief. The Scots army came in sight of that place, Monday July 19, about noon, and found the English army drawn up on Halidon hill, about a mile north-west of the town, ready to receive them. The Scotch were grievously galled by the English archers in mounting the hill, which made them rush on to the attack with much precipitation. Their first shock was violent; but being bravely sustained by the English, and the regent being killed, they instantly fell into confusion, and fled on all hands, and were pursued several miles by Edward, at the head of the English cavalry, and by the Irish under lord Darcy, with a most dreadful carnage. Besides a prodigious number of private men, the greatest part of the nobility, who adhered to the family of Bruce, were either killed or taken prisoners in this battle. This glorious victory was obtained with very little loss, and was followed by the surrender of the town and castle of Berwick, according to the capitulation⁵².

Edward, satisfied with the success of this campaign, left a body of 26,000 men with Baliol to reduce Scotland under his authority; and dismiss-

Baliol
restored.

⁵² Heming. p. 275, 276, 277. Knyghton, p. 2559. Otterborne, p. 115. Buchanan, l. 9. Fordun, l. 23. c. 27, 28. Rymer, vol. 4. p. 568.

A.D. 1333.

ing the rest of his army, returned into England⁵². So many of the heads of the Brucean party had fallen in the late battle, that Baliol met with no further opposition, and held a parliament at Perth, soon after Michaelmas, in perfect tranquillity. At this parliament Baliol's right to the crown of Scotland was recognized, the superiority of England acknowledged, all the laws which had been made in the reigns of Robert Bruce and his son David repealed, the noblemen who had adhered to that family were proscribed, and their estates bestowed chiefly on the English noblemen who had contributed most to this revolution⁵⁴. Thus was Baliol once more restored to the throne of Scotland.

A.D. 1334.
Cessions
made by
Baliol to
Edward.

But this unhappy prince still wanted the firmest support of a throne, the affections of his subjects; and a transaction which soon after happened, rendered him the object of their sovereign contempt and hatred. He attended the king of England at Newcastle, June 12, and did homage in person for the kingdom of Scotland, June 18; and made an entire cession of the shires of Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Dumfries, Peebles, Haddington, and Linlithgow, with all their towns and castles, to be forever united to the crown, and incorporated with the kingdom of England⁵⁵.

Unpopu-
larity of
Baliol.

This too liberal concession furnished the friends of the family of Bruce with a popular topic of de-

⁵² Keyghton, p. 2560. Walsing. p. 132.

⁵⁴ Barnes Hist. ed. 3 p. 82. Rymer, vol. 4. p. 576.

⁵⁵ Id. *ibid.* p. 614—618.

clamation against this shadow of a king; who not only degraded the honour of his crown, but dismembered its most valuable provinces, and was no better than a tool in the hands of the king of England. Even some of Baliol's friends were disgusted at this last transaction; and his whole party was torn in pieces by their disputes about dividing the spoils of their ruined enemies⁵⁶.

A.D. 1334.

These circumstances encouraged the chiefs of the Brucean party to consult together, in order to take advantage of the discontents of the people and the divisions of their enemies. They sent ambassadors to the king of France, who had so kindly entertained their young and unfortunate king and queen, to solicit assistance for their restoration⁵⁷. Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, who had been regent of Scotland for king David Bruce, collecting an army, reduced the north of Scotland to the obedience of his master, and obliged Baliol to retire to Berwick. On this new turn of affairs, the earls of Athole, Dunbar, and several other barons deserted him, and embraced the more popular party of his rival.

Attempt to expel Baliol.

When Edward received intelligence of these commotions in Scotland, he was holding a parliament, which met at Westminster September 19; and having obtained a fifteenth from the barons and knights of shires, and a tenth from the citizens and burghes, to enable him to prosecute the

Edward supports Baliol.

⁵⁶ Leland's Collect. vol. 2, p. 554. Ford. l. 13. c. 29.

⁵⁷ Froissart, l. 1. c. 33.

A.D. 1334. war with Scotland, he spent the winter in the north of England, and at Roxburgh, in the south of Scotland, that he might be ready to enter upon action in the spring⁵⁸. In the mean time, he furnished Baliol with a body of troops, which enabled him to maintain his ground, and keep up the war during the winter.

A.D. 1335. Edward's warlike operations against Scotland were suspended for some time, by the arrival of ambassadors from the king of France, to negotiate a peace⁵⁹. But these negotiations proving abortive, he entered Scotland on July 11, by way of Carlisle, at the head of a very powerful army, while Baliol advanced from Berwick with another at the same time⁶⁰. The two kings with their armies joined at Perth, without having met with any considerable opposition. The remainder of this year was spent in undecisive but pernicious plunderings and skirmishes, and in short truces that were ill observed⁶¹.

A.D. 1336. Hostilities were suspended for some months, by a truce procured by the agents of the pope and king of France⁶²; during which a congress was held at Newcastle for negotiating a peace, but without effect⁶³. The truce expiring May 9, Edward sent an army into Scotland under the command of Henry earl of Lancaster, and soon after

⁵⁸ Knighton, col. 2565. Rymer, vol. 4. p. 622—634.

⁵⁹ Knighton, col. 2566.

⁶⁰ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 637. 640.

⁶¹ Id. *ibid.* p. 74. 675.

⁶² Id. *ibid.* p. 675, 676. 682.

⁶³ Id. *ibid.* p. 677. 683. 690.

followed

followed in person⁶⁶. The Brucean Scots not having yet received the promised succours from France, and being quite unable to meet their enemies in the field, retired to their woods and mountains, leaving all the level and open country a defenceless prey. Edward, greatly incensed at these repeated revolts, marched through Athole to Inverness, marking his way with desolation; and returning in the same manner by the sea-coast, he burnt the city of Aberdeen, and arrived again at Perth about the end of August, having subdued every thing but the hearts of the inhabitants⁶⁷. Leaving his brother prince John, and part of his army, with Baliol at Perth, he hastened to meet his parliament at Nottingham, September 23. Here he received the melancholy news of the death of his brother prince John at Perth, and of some hostile enterprizes of the Scots⁶⁸. Having obtained a supply from his parliament at Nottingham, he flew back to Scotland, and arrived at Perth in the beginning of November. But sir Andrew Moray, the Brucean regent, immediately retired from the siege of Stirling castle to his fastnesses with his followers; and Edward, after carrying desolation into some other parts of that wretched country, left it, and returned to London, about Christmas⁶⁹.

A.D. 1356

⁶⁶ Rymer, vol. 4. p. 695. Heming. p. 278.

⁶⁷ Leland's Collect. vol. 2. p. 553, 556. Heming. p. 278, 279. Knyghton, col. 2568.

⁶⁸ Walsing. p. 234. Knyghton, col. 2568. ⁶⁹ Id. *ibid*.

A.D. 1337.

Edward
resolves to
assert his
claim to
the crown
of France.

It had been no secret for some time past, that the king of France, dreading the martial and ambitious spirit of Edward, had resolved to give a very powerful assistance to the party of David Bruce in Scotland, to enable them to protract the war; and that he was making great preparations for that purpose. But Edward determined to prevent him; and, instead of waiting for him on the desolated plains of Scotland, to carry the war into the fertile provinces of France, and boldly assert his claim to that crown. As this fatal claim was the source of long and bloody wars between the two powerful kingdoms of England and France, it will be proper to explain, in a few words, the foundation on which it was built,

Founda-
tion of
Edward's
claim to
the crown
of France.

It would be quite inconsistent with the studied brevity of this work, to enter upon a laborious inquiry into the origin and true meaning of the Salic law, and the rule of succession to the crown of France. It is sufficient to observe, that though the French monarchy had already existed nine hundred years, no female had ever filled that throne; and that the daughters of several ancient kings of France (who died without male issue) had been regularly excluded from the succession, by virtue of some established law or custom. It was also in virtue of this law or custom, that the two immediate predecessors of Philip de Valois, the present king of France, as well as Philip himself, had succeeded to the crown; as will appear from the following short detail of their successions. Philip
the

the Fair, king of France, at his death, left three A.D. 1337. sons, Lewis Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, and one daughter, Isabel, queen to Edward II. and mother to Edward III. kings of England. Lewis Hutin succeeded his father, and after a short reign died, leaving one daughter, Joanna, and his queen pregnant, who was delivered of a son who lived only four days; upon which Philip the Long succeeded peaceably to the crown, to the exclusion of his elder brother's daughter, the princess Joanna. Philip the Long having reigned only a few years, died also without male issue; but left four daughters, Jane, Margaret, Isabel, and Blanch; and was succeeded by his brother Charles the Fair, to the exclusion of all his daughters. Charles the Fair, the youngest of the three sons of Philip the Fair, died February 1, A. D. 1328, leaving one daughter, Maria, and his queen with child. Here this famous controversy began, concerning the right to the regency till the queen was delivered, and to the succession, if she was delivered of a daughter. The claimants were, Philip de Valois, son of Charles de Valois, who was brother to Philip the Fair, and Edward III. king of England, son of Isabel daughter of the same Philip the Fair. This great cause was debated before an assembly of the states of France, the only competent judges. For Philip it was pleaded, that the male issue of Philip the Fair being extinct, and all females, and their descendants, being by the laws and customs of France excluded, he had a clear and undoubted right to the

A.D. 1327.

the regency, as being the next male heir, the son of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. For Edward it was argued, that being son of Isabel, daughter of Philip the Fair, he was nearer in blood to the three last kings of France, being their sister's son, than Philip, who was only their uncle's son; and that though his mother Isabel was by the laws of France excluded on account of her sex, yet he, not being liable to the same objection, ought to succeed. From this state of the case it appears, that the precise point in question between these two princes was this, whether, by the laws and customs of France, not only females, but also their descendants, were excluded from the succession to that crown? Both allowed that females were excluded; otherwise neither of them could have had any right, as there were daughters of all the three last kings of France then living. But they differed widely as to the exclusion of the male descendants of these excluded females. The advocates for Edward maintained, that the sole reason of the law or custom excluding females from the crown was on account of the imbecility of their sex, and supposed incapacity for reigning; but that this reason not militating against their male descendants, they ought not to be excluded. Those who pleaded the cause of Philip, affirmed, that females, having no right to the succession themselves, could convey no right to their descendants; and that the reason of the law or custom of excluding females from the succession was, not only

to prevent the weaker sex from wearing the crown, but also to prevent foreign princes, their descendants, strangers to the laws and customs of France, from ascending that throne. They added further, That the exclusion of the descendants of females, as well as females themselves, was so well known, that two princes, one descended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, and the other from one of the daughters of Philip the Long, who had both a better title than Edward, if there was any strength in his plea, made no claim. Influenced by these arguments, and perhaps a little swayed by their affection to a prince of their own country, the states of France, gave a decision in favour of Philip de Valois; who immediately assumed the regency; and the queen being delivered of a daughter, he ascended the throne without any further opposition⁶⁶.

A.D. 1337.

Though Edward, naturally ambitious, was no doubt much displeased at this decision; yet he found it necessary to do homage to Philip for his French dominions, and perform several other acts expressive of his acknowledging him as lawful king of France. It is even probable, that he never would have prosecuted his claim, unless invited by some very favourable opportunity, if many occasions of quarrel had not arisen between him and Philip, especially about the affairs of Scotland. Philip not only afforded an asylum to the young king and

Reason of
Edward's
asserting
his claim.

⁶⁶ Specileg. tom. 3. p. 87. Mém. de l'Acad. de B. L. tom. 20. p. 459, &c.

queen

A.D. 1337.

queen of Scotland, when obliged to abandon their country, but he also encouraged their partisans, sending them small supplies of men and money, and was now making great preparations to give them a very powerful aid. Edward, greatly incensed at this and other injuries, resolved to revive his claim to the crown of France, and carry the war into that country.

Edward
prompted
by Robert
d'Artois.

He was much confirmed and encouraged in this resolution by Robert d'Artois (a prince of the blood-royal of France, and king Philip's brother-in-law), who had lately taken shelter in the court of England, where he met with a very kind reception⁶⁹. This Robert had many years before maintained a law-suit for the county of Artois, which was adjudged to his rival by a definitive sentence of Philip the Fair, in 1309. Though Robert was obliged to submit to this sentence, he always considered it as oppressive and unjust. But when Philip de Valois, his brother-in-law, mounted the throne of France, he began to entertain hopes of getting this sentence reversed; and presuming, perhaps too much, on the favour of his prince, to whom he was so nearly allied, he was unhappily privy to the forging certain deeds for strengthening his title to the disputed territory⁷⁰. The forgery was detected; a sentence of banishment and confiscation was pronounced against Robert; who retired, first into Brabant, and afterwards into Eng-

⁶⁹ Rymer, t. 4. p. 747. Froissart, l. 1. c. 27.

⁷⁰ Froissart, l. 1. c. 26. p. 31.

land,

land, inflamed with the most violent and implacable rage against Philip, who had behaved, as he thought, with unbecoming severity on this occasion. To gratify at once his resentment against Philip, and to recover the estates and honours which he had lost, this illustrious exile laboured earnestly to persuade Edward of the validity of his title to the crown of France, and of the practicability of making good that title⁷¹. These persuasions were too agreeable not to be successful; and about the beginning of this year, he came to a final resolution to attempt the acquisition of the crown of France, which he believed to be his right.

A.D. 1337.

Edward, well knowing the difficulty of the enterprise in which he was engaging, and that without powerful allies on the continent, strong fleets and armies, and a mighty mass of treasure, he could expect no success in it, laboured to procure all these with much diligence. By his ambassadors, he concluded treaties with the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, the dukes of Brabant and Guilders, the archbishop of Cologne, the marquis of Juliers, the counts of Hainault and Namur, the lords Tauquemont, Bacquen, and some others; who, for certain subsidies, engaged to assist him with their forces in his designs against France⁷². The earl of Flanders would have been a most useful ally to Edward on this occasion, on account of the power and wealth of his subjects, and the situation of

Edward's preparations for invading France.

⁷¹ Froissart, l. 1. c. 29. p. 36.⁷² Rymer, vol. 4. p. 751—777, &c. Froissart, l. 1. c. 29. 33. 36.

his

A.D. 1337. his country; and he courted his alliance by the most tempting offers. But that prince was steady and warm in his attachment to Philip. This obliged the king of England to cultivate the friendship of a factious demagogue of that country, one James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, who was at the head of a very powerful party against the earl, and really possessed more authority in the rich cities of Flanders than their lawful prince. By the influence of this man, these cities were brought to favour the designs of Edward, and to invite him to land his army in their territories. This whole year was spent in forming these alliances, and making other preparations for this grand expedition⁷³.

A.D. 1338.
Edward collects money for his expedition.

Though Edward had obtained a considerable aid from a parliament which met last year about Michaelmas, he soon found that this would not be sufficient to enable him to fulfil his engagements with his foreign allies, and make the other necessary preparations for the invasion of France. He called another parliament, therefore, to meet at Westminster February 3; and his designs against France were at this time so popular, that he obtained from the prelates, barons, and knights of shires, one half of their wool of this year⁷⁴; a very valuable and extraordinary grant! Besides this, he levied money by many other methods. He seized all the tin in Cornwall and Devonshire;—took possession of the lands of all priories alien;—the

⁷³ Froissart, l. 1. c. 30.

⁷⁴ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 2.

money, jewels, and valuable effects of the Lombard merchants, the great dealers in money of those times. He demanded certain quantities of bread-corn, oats, and bacon, from each county, borrowed their silver-plate from many abbies, as well as great sums of money, both abroad and at home, and pawned his very crown for 50,000 florins⁷⁵. Such mighty efforts were necessary to set this great machine in motion!

A.D. 1312.

Having at length got all things in readiness, and appointed his eldest son Edward guardian of the kingdom, he sailed from the port of Orwell, in Suffolk, July 16, with a gallant fleet and army⁷⁶.

Edward embarks for France.

At his arrival on the continent, he was far from finding his allies so ready and willing to enter upon action as he expected, presenting him with difficulties, scruples, and excuses, instead of troops. This obliged him to spend this whole year in negotiations. To remove the scruples of the Flemings about fighting against their liege lord the king of France, he assumed, after much hesitation, the dangerous title of *king of France*⁷⁷. That he might have a pretence for commanding the German princes, he obtained from the emperor, in an interview he had with that prince September 2, the title of *vicar of the empire*⁷⁸. To some of

Finds his allies backward.

⁷⁵ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 48, 49, 50, 51. 60. 101. Walsing. p. 246. Knyghton, p. 2570, 2571.

⁷⁶ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 64, 65. Walsing. p. 236.

⁷⁷ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 66. R. de Avesbury, p. 52--54.

⁷⁸ Knyghton, p. 2572.

A.D. 1338. his allies he granted advantages in trade, to others honours, and to all large sums of money; which so exhausted his treasures, that he asked and obtained fresh supplies from a parliament which was held this year in his absence⁷⁹. At length, with much difficulty and great expence, he brought all his allies to agree to rendezvous with their troops next year by July 8, in order to begin the war by the siege of Cambray. That Edward might be near at hand to keep his allies steady, and quicken their preparations, he spent the winter at Antwerp.

A.D. 1339.

Edward
invades
France.

But after all his labours and expences, Edward found his allies still dilatory and irresolute, and insatiable in their demands for money; which obliged him, not only to stretch his credit to the utmost in borrowing, but also to pawn his queen's jewels⁸⁰. It was about the middle of September before he could bring his army into the field; and when he approached the confines of France, the counts of Namur and Hainault refused to march any further, and retired with their forces⁸¹. After this defection, Edward had still an army of 47,000 men, with which he ravaged the countries of Cambresis and Vermandois⁸².

King
Philip's
prepara-
tions.

Philip, who had sufficient warning of this formidable invasion, had not been indolent in preparing for his own defence. He had formed alli-

⁷⁹ Knyghton, p. 2571.

⁸⁰ Rymer, vol. 5, p. 83. 91. 110. 118. 120.

⁸¹ Froissart, l. 1. c. 39.

⁸² Heming. p. 305, 306. Knyghton, col. 2574.

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ances with the king of Bohemia and Navarre, the dukes of Brittany, Lorraine, and Austria, the palatine of the Rhine, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Deuxpont, Vaudeмонт; Geneva, and some others, and now appeared at the head of an army of 100,000 men. The two armies lay several weeks within a few leagues of one another; and even faced each other several days in the field in order of battle. But Philip keeping on the defensive, as unwilling to hazard his crown and kingdom in an engagement; and Edward finding no opportunity of attacking a force so much superior to advantage, both armies retired into winter-quarters without having come to action⁸³. Thus ended this first campaign, in which Edward reaped no real advantage from all the immense sums of money which he had expended, and a prodigious debt of 300,000*l.* which he had contracted⁸⁴: a circumstance which would have discouraged a prince of less resolution from proceeding any further in so ruinous an undertaking.

A.D. 1339.

Among other engagements into which Edward had entered with his allies, this was one, — Not to leave the continent till the war was ended. But this engagement he now found it impossible to perform, his presence being indispensably necessary in England to procure supplies for carrying on the war. Having therefore left his queen, and infant son Lionel, afterwards duke of Clarence, with four

A.D. 1340

Edward returns to England.

⁸³ Froissart, l. 1. c. 41, 42, 43. Heming. p. 307—312. Walsing. p. 143.

⁸⁴ Cot. Abbridg. p. 17.

A.D. 1340. earls, at Antwerp, as hostages for his return within a week after Midsummer, he set out for England, and landed at Harwich, February 21st.

Parliaments.

Though the people of England, dazzled with the prospect of conquering France, had lately made more liberal and frequent grants in parliament than on any former occasion, seeing no end of new demands, they began to be a little more backward. At a parliament which had been held in October last year, the knights of shires refused to agree to an aid proposed by the barons, till they had consulted their constituents; and time was allowed them to the 20th January this year for that purpose. When they met in January they agreed to the aid, but clogged it with very hard conditions⁸⁵. On the king's arrival a new parliament was summoned to meet March 29, before which he laid a very affecting representation of his necessities. He told them, that, without a very large supply, all his designs would be ruined, and himself dishonoured; that he was obliged to return to Brussels, and to stay there till all the debts which he had contracted abroad were paid. The parliament, moved with this representation, granted him the ninth sheaf, fleece, and lamb, of all their lands for two years; and the citizens and burghesses granted a ninth of their moveables, according to their real value; besides a very great addition to the customs on wool, wool-fells, leather, and other

⁸⁵ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 140, 141. 171.

⁸⁶ Knyghton, p. 2571. Cotton Abridg. p. 17.

goods.

goods. In consideration of this ample supply, the king remitted some old debts, and relinquished the feudal aid for knighting his eldest son and marrying his eldest daughter⁴⁷. Some time after the clergy granted a tenth of their revenues for three years. For a present supply of money, the king borrowed great sums from merchants and others, particularly twenty thousand marks from the city of London⁴⁸.

A.D. 1340.

Edward having collected as much money as he could in England, began to think of returning to the continent, agreeable to his engagements, and in order to bring his army into the field. But before he embarked, he received intelligence that a French fleet of 400 sail was waiting near Sluys to intercept him⁴⁹. To prevent this, he collected a fleet of 260 stout ships, in which he sailed from Orwell, June 22, towards the coast of Flanders. About ten in the morning on Midsummer-day, the two fleets engaged off the harbour of Sluys, where a most obstinate and bloody battle was fought. But the English fleet having gained the wind of the enemy, and their archers and other troops, animated by the presence and example of their heroic king, fighting with irresistible bravery, they at length obtained a most glorious and complete victory. Thirty thousand French were killed in the action, or drowned in attempting to get on shore; 200 of their ships were taken; and Edward, with

Edward obtains a victory at sea.

⁴⁷ Knyghton, p. 2576.⁴⁸ Heming, p. 318, 319.⁴⁹ Avelbury, p. 89. Froissart, l. i. c. 51. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 195.

A.D. 1340. his victorious fleet, entered the harbour of Sluys next day in triumph⁶⁰.

Fruits of
this vic-
tory,

This victory was of great advantage to Edward's affairs both at home and abroad. A parliament which met soon after at Westminster took every possible method to hasten the payment of the great supplies lately granted, to enable the king to pursue his good fortune. His allies were animated with such uncommon ardour and unanimity, that on the 9th day of July (as he wrote to his parliament) he saw himself at the head of a gallant army of 100,000 men, besides a body of 40,000 Flemings⁶¹.

Ill success
of Ed-
ward's
arms.

Very high expectations were entertained from these two powerful armies, commanded by so brave and fortunate a prince as Edward, and so wise and experienced a general as Robert d'Artois. But the event was not agreeable to these expectations. The Flemish army formed the siege of St. Omers on July 22, but being composed chiefly of mechanics unused to arms, they made little progress in the siege; and on the first sally of the garrison, they were seized with a panic, and entirely dispersed, never to be rallied⁶².

Siege of
Tournay.

Edward advanced at the head of his army, and about the end of July laid siege to the city of Tournay, one of the richest and most populous

⁶⁰ Froissart, l. 1. c. 51. Avelbury, p. 54—59. Knyghton, p. 257k. Walsing. p. 148. Rymer. vol. 5. p. 195.

⁶¹ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 197, 198, 199.

⁶² Froissart, l. 1. c. 63.

cities of Flanders, zealously attached to the French interest. Philip having received intelligence of this design, had put 14,000 of his bravest troops, under some of his best officers, into Tournay, who, with 15,000 of the inhabitants in arms, formed a garrison which baffled all the efforts of the besiegers⁹³.

A.D. 1340.

The king of France, attended by the kings of Scotland, Bohemia, and Navarre, and an illustrious train of many other princes, with a very powerful army, remained at some distance from Tournay in great tranquillity. When the two armies were in this situation, Edward sent a challenge to his enemy, giving him only the name of Philip de Valois, proposing to decide the quarrel by single combat, or with one hundred men on each side, or by a general engagement. To this challenge Philip returned a disdainful answer, reproaching Edward with the violation of his oath of homage, and rebellion against his liege lord⁹⁴.

Edward's challenge and Philip's answer.

Edward, despairing of taking Tournay by force, turned the siege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing it by famine. In this he would probably have succeeded, if many of the inhabitants had not been permitted to retire through the quarters of the duke of Brabant. At length, however, the place was reduced to great distress for want of provisions; of which Philip being informed, he advanced with

Tournay reduced to great distress.

⁹³ Froissart, l. i. c. 54. Knyghton, col. 2578.

⁹⁴ Rymer, vol. 5, p. 198, 199. Heming, p. 323—326. R. de Andbury, p. 59—63.

A.D. 1340. his army within three leagues, in hopes of conveying into it some relief. When the two armies were so near each other, frequent skirmishes happened, and a general engagement was daily expected⁹⁵.

Truce
concluded.

When things were in this critical posture, a powerful mediatrix interposed, and prevented the further effusion of blood. This was Jane countess-dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to the king of England, and sister to the king of France; who prevailed with these two princes, to agree to a cessation of hostilities for three days, and to appoint plenipotentiaries to treat of an accommodation in that time. The plenipotentiaries met accordingly; and on the last day of the cessation, September 25, concluded a truce, which was to continue from that time to the 25th of June next year. By this truce, in which the Scots were included, if they pleased, all hostilities were immediately to cease, and every thing to remain in its present state⁹⁶.

Disadvantageous to Edward.

This truce was highly advantageous and agreeable to the king of France, who thereby gained all his ends without any hazard. It was no less pernicious and displeasing to the king of England, who was thereby deprived of all the fruits of all his toils and expences. But as it had been negotiated by his chief allies, to whom he was deeply indebted, who were weary of the war, and unwilling to fight, he found himself under a necessity of consenting to it.

⁹⁵ Knyghton, col. 2578.

⁹⁶ Rymer, t. 5. p. 203—200.

Knyghton, col. 2578. R. de Aycbury, p. 65—70.

One design of this truce was to afford time to negotiate a peace; and commissioners from both kings met at Arras, and treated of that matter in presence of the pope's legates, who acted as mediators. But though Edward was now very moderate in his demands, insisting only on being excused from doing homage for his French dominions, Philip would make no concessions, and even refused to treat till Edward had laid aside the title and arms of king of France, and renounced all his claims to that crown; which rendered these negotiations of peace ineffectual. The commissioners however prolonged the truce to 25th June 1342⁹⁷.

A.D. 1342.
Negotiations for a peace.

Though one parliament last year had granted very liberal supplies, and another had made several wise regulations for converting them into money, and remitting them to the king, those entrusted with the execution had acted with so little diligence or fidelity, that few remittances had been made, which was one great cause of the backwardness of the allies, and the miscarriage before Tournay. As soon therefore as Edward could disengage himself after the conclusion of the truce, being greatly chagrined at his debts and disappointments abroad, and at the negligence of his servants at home, he hastened with great secrecy towards the sea-coast, and embarking, landed November 30, about midnight, at the Tower of London, which he found quite unguarded⁹⁸.

⁹⁷ Rymer, t. 5. p. 242. 251. 266. Froissart, l. 1. c. 64.

⁹⁸ Walsing. p. 155. 147. Heming. p. 326, 327. Rymer, t. 5. p. 416. Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 20.

A.D. 1340.

Edward
punishes
many of
his ser-
vants.

The first storm of his indignation fell upon those who had the custody of that fortress, who were all imprisoned. He then sent for the bishop of Chester lord chancellor, and the bishop of Litchfield lord treasurer, who not being able to exculpate themselves to his satisfaction, were deprived of these high offices⁹⁹. Many other great officers, judges, clerks of chancery, &c. of which some were clergymen, were apprehended and put in prison¹⁰⁰.

Edward's
quarrel
with arch-
bishop
Stratford.

The greatest delinquent, and the chief object of the king's resentment, escaped his hands. This was John Stratford archbishop of Canterbury, who had acted as prime minister in England in the king's absence. This prelate had been a great promoter of the war with France, encouraging the king to undertake it, by promising to furnish him with constant supplies of money¹⁰¹. But being gained (as it is supposed) by the pope, who favoured Philip, he had acted in a manner very inconsistent with his promises, retarding rather than forwarding the supplies¹⁰².

Presump-
tion of the
arch-
bishop.

The archbishop, dreading the king's displeasure, retired to Canterbury; and when he was invited to court, refused to come. At the same time he commenced a most flaming patriot, and zealous defender of the immunities of the church, in order

⁹⁹ Walsing. p. 147—150.¹⁰⁰ Id. *ibid.* Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 20, 21.¹⁰¹ Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 24.¹⁰² Rymer, vol. 5. p. 225, 236, 240. Ang. Sac. vol. 1. p. 24, 37.

to gain the people and clergy to his interest. In this spirit he wrote one letter to the king, another to the chancellor, and a third to the council, charging them, in not very respectful terms, with violating the great charter, and the immunities of the church, by imprisoning clerks; and threatening them all, except the king and royal family, with excommunication, if they did not immediately release the imprisoned clergymen. In the same strain he wrote to all the bishops of his province, exhorting and commanding them to publish excommunications against all who violated the charters, and the immunities of the church, by imprisoning or doing any injury to clerks¹⁰³. A.D. 1140.

The king and his council, perceiving by these proceedings of the primate, that he designed to raise a flame in the kingdom, and imitate his factious predecessor Becket, resolved to act against him with prudence and firmness. To deprive him of his popularity, a manifesto was published in the king's name, charging the archbishop with treachery,—ingratitude,—giving the king ill advice,—embezzling his revenues,—and several other crimes¹⁰⁴. To this manifesto the archbishop published a most insolent reply; calling it a scandalous libel, telling the king in plain terms, that the sacerdotal was superior to the regal power, and flatly denying all the crimes laid to his charge¹⁰⁵. For A.D. 1142.
Progress and conclusion of this quarrel.

¹⁰³ Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 21-22. Walsing. p. 150-151. Heming. p. 331-344.

¹⁰⁴ Walsing. p. 154.

¹⁰⁵ Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 27.

A.D. 1348. this an information being preferred against him in the exchequer, he^e declined the jurisdiction of the court, and appealed to parliament. A parliament accordingly met, April 23, at Westminster. The archbishop, supported by his suffragans and some temporal lords, attempted several times to take his place in parliament; but was not permitted to do it till the charge against him had been examined. This firmness of the king at length overcame the haughtiness of the primate, and obliged him to make his submission publicly in the painted chamber; upon which he was admitted to take his seat, and a committee was appointed to examine his answers, and report their opinion to the next parliament¹⁰⁶. But as this parliament did not meet till two years after, the archbishop had before that time so effectually reconciled himself to his sovereign, that all proceedings against him were cancelled. Thus ended this violent contest between the crown and the mitre, which at its beginning seemed to threaten more serious consequences.

Edward's
allies de-
sert him.

Edward's rash and imprudent scheme of conquering France by the hands of mercenary allies, who had no immediate interest in the event of the war, and did not really desire its success, had involved him in very great difficulties. In prosecuting this scheme, he had lost almost all his conquests in Scotland—had drained England of its money, and most valuable commodities—had

¹⁰⁶ Anglin Sacra, p. 39, 40.

stripped

stripped himself of his diadem, and his queen of ^{A.D. 1242.} her jewels, which were laid in pawn—and had contracted a great load of debt, which was daily increasing by exorbitant interest; without having conquered one foot of ground, or made the least progress in his design. To complete his vexation and perplexity, he now beheld those allies, on whom he had lavished all his treasures, abandoning him one after another, as soon as they observed his coffers were empty. All these circumstances would probably have discouraged him from prosecuting his claim to the crown of France, if an unexpected event had not happened, which revived his hopes.

Arthur II. duke of Brittany, had by his first wife three sons, John, Guy, and Peter; and by his second wife one son, named John de Mountfort, from the name of his mother's family. Arthur had been succeeded by his eldest son John III. who died this year April 30, without issue. Guy, the second son of Arthur, had died about ten years before; but had left one daughter, named Jane. Peter, the third son of Arthur, had died young without issue; and John de Mountfort, the son of Arthur by his second wife, was still alive. John III. desirous to preserve his country from the miseries of a disputed succession, had married his niece Jane, the daughter of his brother Guy, to Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France, and got Charles to be formally acknowledged by the states of Brittany as his presumptive heir and successor

Disputed
succession
of Brit-
tany.

A.D. 1344. successor in that duchy¹⁰⁷. John de Mountfort made no opposition to this designation during the life of John III. but as soon as that prince died, he declared himself his successor, seized his treasures, and by various means got possession of several of the strongest towns of Brittany; whilst Charles de Blois, not imagining he had any rival, was gone to Paris to perform homage and receive investiture.

Mount-
fort forms
an alliance
with Ed-
ward.

But though Mountfort had got these advantages, he was very sensible that he could not maintain possession against his rival Charles, favoured by the states of Brittany, and supported by the king of France, without the assistance of some very powerful ally. Edward king of England was both most likely and most able to afford him that assistance: he hastened over to England, therefore, and entered into a strict alliance with Edward for the advancement of their several claims¹⁰⁸.

Mount-
fort es-
capes from
Paris.

John de Mountfort, soon after his return to Nantes, received a summons to attend the court of the peers of France, to shew his title to the duchy of Brittany. This summons he imprudently obeyed, and was commanded by Philip not to leave Paris for fifteen days; in which time his cause should be determined. But Mountfort, justly apprehensive of being seized, made his escape out of Paris, in disguise, and got safe to Brittany.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Froissart, l. 1. c. 65. D'Argentré Hist. de Brit. l. 10. c. 42.

h. 11. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Avesbury, p. 97.

¹⁰⁸ Froissart, l. 1. c. 69. Avesbury, p. 97.

¹⁰⁹ Avesbury, p. 69, 70.

A few days after this escape, the court of peers determined this great cause, and adjudged the duchy of Brittany to belong to Charles de Blois in right of his wife. Charles having obtained this sentence in his favour, and, which was of more consequence, an army from the king of France to put it in execution, marched into Brittany, and was so fortunate as to take the city of Nantes, and the person of his rival, about the end of October. Mountfort was sent to Paris, and shut up in the tower of the Louvre¹¹⁰.

A.D. 1341.
Brittany adjudged to Charles de Blois, who takes Mountfort prisoner.

The captivity of this prince seemed to put an end to his pretensions to the duchy of Brittany; and to the hopes of Edward from his alliance. But both these were revived and supported by a person from whom it could not have been expected. This was Jane, wife of the imprisoned Mountfort, and sister to the earl of Flanders, one of the most illustrious heroines in the lists of fame. This princess, roused by the captivity of her husband and the impending ruin of her family, assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided; and, holding her infant son in her arms, harangued them in a strain at once so bold and so affecting, that they were seized with the strongest political enthusiasm, and declared their resolution to live and die in her defence. Having made a progress through the other towns of Brittany, and inspired their inhabitants with the same passionate zeal for the interests of her family, she went and shut her-

Adventures of Jane, Mountfort's wife.

¹¹⁰ Froissart, l. 1. c. 73.

A.D. 1341. self up in the port of Hennebone, expecting the promised succours from England^m.

A.D. 1342.
Expedi-
tion into
Brittany.

The English fleet, commanded by sir Walter Manny, did not sail till the beginning of July, and met with a tedious passage, which exposed the illustrious heroine to whose assistance it was sent to the greatest dangers, and gave her an opportunity of performing the most glorious exploits. She was besieged in Hennebone in the spring by Charles de Blois, who pushed the siege with all possible ardour, in hopes of taking the countess prisoner, and thereby putting an end to the war. But all his efforts were in vain. The garrison and inhabitants, animated by the presence and example of their female commander, who appeared on the walls completely armed, and was foremost in every danger, repelled all his assaults. At one time, she broke through the besieging army with about 200 horse; and in a few days returning with a reinforcement, cut her way into the town. But at length the walls of the place were so shattered, that it was no longer tenable; and the bishop of Leon was appointed to settle the terms of capitulation with Charles. In this critical moment the countess mounted a high tower, and looking eagerly towards the sea, discerned a fleet at a distance; upon which she cried out in a transport of joy, Succours! succours! the English succours! no capitulation! She was not mistaken: the English fleet soon after entered the harbour, landed

the army, and obliged Charles to raise the siege ¹¹². A.D. 1342.

Though these succours which now arrived under Sir Walter Manny delivered the heroic countess from danger, they were not sufficient to enable her to face her enemy in the open field, or to prevent him from taking several towns. She therefore earnestly solicited further assistance from England; and Edward, determined not to abandon so brave and faithful an ally, sailed from Sandwich October 5, with a considerable fleet and army to her aid ¹¹³. He landed his troops without opposition; and though his army did not exceed 12,000 men, he divided them, and undertook at once the sieges of Rennes, Nantz, and Vannes: an imprudent measure! which rendered all his attempts feeble and unsuccessful, and gave his enemies time to collect their forces. Accordingly John duke of Normandy, eldest son of the king of France, advanced at the head of 40,000 men towards Vannes, where the king of England commanded the siege in person ¹¹⁴. This obliged Edward to collect all his troops, and entrench them strongly before Vannes, where he was soon after invested by the French army. It must be confessed, that Edward and his little army were now in a very critical situation; surrounded by enemies on all hands, and depending for their subsistence on supplies from England, which might be retarded by

Expedi-
tion into
Brittany.

¹¹² Froissart, l. 1. c. 81.

¹¹³ R. de Avesbury, p. 98. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 343.

¹¹⁴ Froissart, l. 1. c. 98. R. de Avesbury, p. 98—102.

A.D. 1342. contrary winds, or intercepted by the enemy's fleet ¹¹⁵.

A.D. 1345.

A truce
concluded.

While the two armies lay in this posture, in a state of inactivity, the English not daring to make any attempt on Vannes in the presence of the French army, and the French not daring to attack the English in their entrenchments; two cardinals arrived to mediate a peace, or at least a truce. These mediators brought about a truce between the kings of France and England, and their allies on both sides, to commence January 19, and to continue to Michaelmas in the year 1346: during which time a congress should be held in the pope's presence for a general peace. By the articles of this truce, all prisoners were to be set at liberty on both sides: all places, both in Brittany and elsewhere, were to remain in the hands of their present possessors, except Vannes, which was to be sequestered in the hands of the two cardinals, to be delivered by them, at the expiration of the truce, to whom they pleased ¹¹⁶. This truce was confirmed with great solemnity by the oaths of both kings, and of many of their chief nobility; after which Edward embarked with his army, and having had a tedious and stormy passage, landed at Weymouth March 2 ¹¹⁷.

Confer-
ences for a
peace inef-
fectual.

A parliament, which had been summoned before Edward's arrival, met at Westminster April 28,

¹¹⁵ Froissart, l. i. c. 98.

¹¹⁶ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 346. 352. Avesbury. p. 100. Walsing.
p. 159.

¹¹⁷ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 357. Avesbury. p. 109. Knyghton,
col. 2583.

before

A.D. 1343.

before whom he laid the truce which had been lately concluded, and asked their opinion and advice concerning the proposed negotiations for a peace. The lords and commons having separately deliberated on that subject, came into the royal presence in the White chamber on May 1, where the lords first declared their approbation of the truce, and advised the king to send commissioners to treat of a peace before the pope. Then the commons, by sir William Trussel, declared also their approbation of the truce, and of negotiations for a peace, and advised the king to accept of a reasonable one, if he could obtain it; but if he could not, they promised to assist him with all their power in maintaining his quarrel¹¹⁸. The king in consequence of this advice, appointed Hugh Spenser lord of Glamorgan, Ralph de Stafford baron, William de Norwich dean of Lincoln, William Trussel knight, and Andrew de Offord professor of civil law, his commissioners (to whom he afterwards added others) to treat of peace with the commissioners of Philip de Valois before the pope, as a common friend, but not as a judge¹¹⁹. These conferences were accordingly opened at Avignon, where the pope then resided, October 22, and continued to November 29, when they broke up without effect; though the pope seems to have laboured with great earnestness for a peace.

In the mean time, each party made bitter complaints against the other for violating the truce; which

The truce
ill ob-
served.

¹¹⁸ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 472.¹¹⁹ Id. ibid. p. 366. 382.

A.D. 1343. seems to have been very ill observed on both sides ¹²⁰. On the one hand, Philip had detained John de Mountfort still in prison, contrary to an article of the truce, and had seized and put to death several noblemen of Brittany, who he suspected had secretly deserted his interest and embraced that of his enemy ¹²¹. On the other hand, Edward had endeavoured to strengthen his own party and that of Mountfort in Brittany, and had encouraged the inhabitants of Vannes to expel the garrison of the cardinals, and declare for Mountfort.

A.D. 1344.
Preparations for war.

It being now evident that the war would be renewed, both parties endeavoured to strengthen themselves as much as possible. It was with this view that Edward proclaimed in all countries of Europe, a grand tournament or round-table, to be celebrated at Windsor in the beginning of this year, that he might have an opportunity of engaging many brave knights in his service ¹²². He also summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster June 7, and represented to them, by his chancellor, that Philip de Valois had violated the truce in no fewer than seven articles, and desired their advice what was to be done on that occasion. The parliament entering warmly into the king's views, advised him to be no longer abused by ill-

¹²⁰ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 367. 387. 394.

¹²¹ Froissart, l. 1. c. 100. Knyghton, col. 2583. Avesbury, p. 114.

¹²² Walsing. p. 164. Froiss. l. 1. c. 101. Ashmole, fol. 182. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 400.

observed

observed truces, but to prosecute the war with vigour, till he obtained an honourable peace; and to enable him to follow this advice, they granted him an aid of two fifteenths from the counties, and two tenths from the cities and burghs. The clergy of the province of Canterbury, at the same time, granted him the tenths of their livings for three years¹²³. He also used another means of filling his coffers (frequently practised in those times), by summoning all the gentlemen in England who had 40 l. a year to come, by August 10, to receive the honour of knighthood, or pay a sum of money to be excused¹²⁴.

A.D. 1344.

Edward having published a manifesto, containing his reasons for renewing the war before the expiration of the truce, sent a small reinforcement into Brittany to assist the partisans of John de Mountfort, and a greater body of troops into Guienne, under his cousin Henry of Lancaster earl of Derby, and some other English noblemen¹²⁵. The earl of Derby acquired great honour to himself and to the English arms, by taking many towns, and defeating the French army commanded by the count de l'Isle, though greatly superior to his own in numbers¹²⁶. After these successes, Derby put his little army into winter-quarters at Bourdeaux, and returned to England to solicit a reinforcement.

War with France.

¹²³ Knyghton, col. 2584. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 430.

¹²⁴ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 416.

¹²⁵ Froissart, l. 1. c. 103. Avesbury, p. 115—121.

¹²⁶ Froissart, l. 1. c. 104—109.

A.D. 1345.

War in
Gascony
and Brit-
tany.

The pope made some proposals in the beginning of this year, for renewing the conferences for a peace; but Edward, who had other designs in view, declined giving his consent¹²⁷. John de Mountfort, who had languished four years in prison, made his escape in February, by the assistance of some beggars, and soon after came over to England, where he did homage to Edward as king of France, for the dutchy of Brittany, on May 20, and returned in June with some English troops to support his pretensions¹²⁸. By the assistance of these troops he gained some advantages, but did not long enjoy his liberty and good fortune, dying of a fever at Hennebon, on September 16. The earl of Derby, who returned to Guienne in June, made a campaign no less glorious and successful than the former¹²⁹.

Edward's
designs in
Flanders
disap-
pointed.

About this time Edward conceived the hopes of obtaining the earldom of Flanders for his eldest son (lately created prince of Wales) by the intrigues of his great friend James d'Arteville the factious brewer of Ghent. To favour these intrigues he sailed from Sandwich on July 3, accompanied by the prince of Wales and a splendid train of English noblemen, and landed at Sluys. But this project was disconcerted by the death of d'Arteville, who was torn in pieces, July 17, by his great friends the mob of Ghent, whose passions had taken a dif-

¹²⁷ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 433. 439. 446. 448.

¹²⁸ Hist. Geneal. de la France, vol. 1. p. 452.

¹²⁹ Rymer, vol 5. p. 458, 459.

ferent turn ¹³⁰. The miscarriage of this scheme put an end to all thoughts of invading France from the side of Flanders, and Edward returned to England July 26 ¹³¹. A.D. 1345.

It must appear surprising, that the earl of Derby was permitted to carry on his conquests in Guienne for two years with little opposition. This was probably owing to the disorder of the finances of France at that time, and to the difficulties which Philip met with in establishing several methods of filling his coffers. These difficulties being now overcome, John duke of Normandy marched into Guienne, at the head of 100,000 men, and threatened the reduction of that province ¹³². Edward being informed by the earl of Derby of this danger, prepared a great fleet and strong army for his relief, and the preservation of Guienne. But these preparations met with many interruptions and delays; and, even after the troops were embarked, the fleet (which consisted of 1000 sail) was detained at Portsmouth from the beginning of June to the 10th July, by contrary winds ¹³³. A.D. 1346.
Edward prepares a fleet and army to assist the earl of Derby in Gascony.

Godfrey de Harcourt, a Norman nobleman, having been affronted and injured by the king of France, had lately fled to the court of England, and now held the same place in the favour and confidence of Edward, which Robert d'Artois had formerly possessed. This nobleman persuaded Ed- Edward invades Normandy.

¹³⁰ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 474. Froissart, l. 1. c. 16.

¹³¹ Avebury, p. 122. Knyghton, col. 2585. Walsing. p. 165.

¹³² Froissart, t. 1. c. 119.

¹³³ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 493. 508. 514. 518. Avebury, p. 123.

A.D. 1346. ward to change his design, and, instead of failing to Guienne, where his enemies were ready to oppose him, to invade Normandy, which was a very wealthy province, wholly unguarded, and would be a very valuable and easy prey¹³⁴. Listening to this wise advice, he sailed from St. Helen's July 10, and landed at La Hogue in Normandy two days after. In this expedition he was attended by the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, by the flower of the English nobility, 4000 men at arms, 10,000 archers, and 18,000 foot; an army not half so numerous as that with which he had formerly invaded France from the side of Flanders, but far more formidable, as being composed of his own subjects, and wholly under his command. The troops had been so long on shipboard that it was thought proper to allow them six days to rest and refresh themselves before they entered upon action¹³⁵. After this the fleet visited the several sea-ports on the coasts, and destroyed the shipping: while the army, divided into three bodies, ravaged the open country, and took and plundered the towns, which were ill fortified and worse defended. In a few weeks the troops collected an immense booty, which was put on board the fleet, and sent into England¹³⁶.

Edward's
progress in
Norman-
dy.

As soon as Philip heard of this invasion, he summoned all his allies, with all the military tenants of the crown of France, except those in the army in Guienne,

¹³⁴ Froissart, l. i. c. 121.

¹³⁵ Avesbury, p. 124.

¹³⁶ Froissart, l. i. c. 122—124. Avesbury, p. 123—127.

to rendezvous with their forces at St. Denis; and in the mean time he marched in person, at the head of all the troops he could collect, to Rouen, to secure that capital. It was not long before the king of England appeared with his army in sight of that city, with a design to assault it; but not daring to pass the Seine in the face of the French army, he marched along the banks of that river; plundering and burning all the country to the very gates of Paris¹³⁷. But he could nowhere find an opportunity of passing the river; all the bridges being broken down, and the enemy's army attending all his motions on the opposite banks, with a design to inclose him in the country, and surround him and his army.

A.D. 1346.

Edward extricated himself by a stratagem. Having secretly prepared materials for repairing the bridge at Poissy, he commanded his army to decamp, and march further up the river; but instantly returned, repaired the bridge, and passed over his army with great celerity, while the enemy, having heard of his departure from Poissy, were pursuing their march up the river. Having thus passed the Seine, and thrown the French army behind him, he marched with great diligence towards Flanders, defeating the militia of Amiens, and a party of men at arms belonging to the king of Bohemia, and burning the suburbs of Beauvais in his march¹³⁸.

Edward passes the Seine, and marches towards Flanders.

But when he approached the Somme, he found himself in a more dangerous situation than before.

Edward passes the Somme.

¹³⁷ Froissart, l. i. c. 125. Avesbury, p. 127—129.¹³⁸ Froissart, l. i. c. 125. R. de Avesbury, p. 136.

A.D. 1346. All the bridges on that river were broken down; an army commanded by Gondimar de Faye appeared on the opposite bank to dispute his passage; and the king of France was at his heels, at the head of 100,000 men. In this extremity, he published a reward of 100 nobles to any one who would shew him a ford. A French peasant, named Gobin Agarre, tempted by the hopes of this reward, came to Edward, and promised to conduct him to a ford between Abbeville and the sea, which might be passed at low water. Following this guide, and marching all night, the English army arrived at the ford of Blanchetaque about sun-rising, August 24; where they passed the river, beat the army under Gondimar de Faye, and encamped that night at Noyelle, and arrived the next day at Crecy¹³⁹.

Edward
halts at
Crecy.

Though Edward had thus far overcome all obstacles, and eluded or defeated all his enemies, he became sensible, that it would be extremely dangerous to pursue his march, with an army so much superior to his own, especially in cavalry, hanging on his rear. He determined therefore to make a stand, and to give his pursuers a check. For this purpose, he chose his ground with great judgment, on the gentle declivity of a hill, with a thick wood in his rear. He ordered deep entrenchments to be made on each flank, and waited with firmness the approach of his enemies.

Philip
reaches
Crecy.

The king of France dreading nothing so much as the escape of the English, began the march of his

¹³⁹ Froissart, tom. I. c. 126, 127. Avesbury, p. 138.

great

great army from Abbeville early in the morning, A.D. 1346.
 August 26, and continued several hours with great eagerness, till he received intelligence that the English had halted at Crecy, and were prepared to give him battle. He was advised at the same time, not to engage that day, when his troops were much fatigued with their march, and in great disorder; and he was disposed to have taken this advice. But the discipline of these times was so imperfect, that the orders given for halting were not obeyed; and one corps of this mighty host impelling another, they continued advancing till they came into the presence of their enemies in much confusion.

Edward had employed the forenoon of this important day in drawing up his army in the most excellent order in three lines. The first line, which consisted of 800 men at arms, 4000 English archers, and 600 Welch foot, was commanded by his young, amiable, and heroic son, the prince of Wales, assisted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, and several other noblemen; the second line, composed of 800 men at arms, 4000 halbardiers, and 2400 archers, was led by the earls of Arundel and Northampton; the last line or body of reserve, in which were 700 men at arms, 5300 billmen, and 6000 archers, was ranged along the summit of the hill, and conducted by the king in person, attended by the lords Moubray, Mortimer, and others.

When the army was completely formed, Edward rode along the lines, and by his words and looks inspired his troops with the most ardent courage and

English
order of
battle.

Edward
refreshes
and encour-
ages his
army.

A.D. 1346. and strongest hopes of victory. He then commanded the cavalry to dismount, and the whole army to sit down upon the grass, in their ranks, and refresh themselves with meat, drink, and rest. As soon as the French army came in view, they sprung from the ground, full of strength and spirit, and stood ready to receive them.

French order of battle.

The king of France, assisted by the kings of Bohemia and Majorca, the dukes of Lorraine and Savoye, and several other sovereign princes, with the flower of the French nobility, laboured to restore some degree of order to his prodigious army, and drew it up also in three lines, but very indistinctly formed. The first line was commanded in chief by the king of Bohemia; the second by the earl of Alençon, the king of France's brother; and the third by Philip in person; and each of these lines contained a greater number of troops than the whole English army.

The battle of Crecy was begun about three o'clock in the afternoon, August 26, by a great body of Genoese cross-bow men, in the French service, who let fly their quarrels at too great a distance to do any execution, and were presently routed by a shower of arrows from the English archers. The earl of Alençon, after trampling to death many of the flying Genoese, advanced to the charge, and made a furious attack on that corps commanded by the prince of Wales. The earls of Arundel and Northampton advanced with the second line to sustain the prince, and Alençon was supported

supported by as many troops as could crowd to his assistance. Here the battle raged for some time with uncommon fury; and the earl of Warwick, anxious for the fate of the day and the safety of the prince, sent a messenger to the king, intreating him to advance with the third line. Edward, who had taken his stand on a wind-mill on the top of the hill, from whence he had a full view of both armies, asked the messenger, if his son was unhorsed, or wounded, or killed; and being answered, that the prince was unhurt, and performing prodigies of valour, "Go then," said he, "and tell my son and his brave companions, that I will not deprive them of any part of the glory of their victory." This flattering message being made known, inspired the prince and his troops with redoubled ardour; and the king of Bohemia, the earl of Alençon, and many other great men being slain, the whole first and second lines of the French army were put to flight. Philip, undismayed at the slaughter of his troops, and the fall of so many princes, advanced to the charge with the line under his immediate command. But this body soon shared the same fate with the other two; and Philip, after having been unhorsed, and wounded in the neck and thigh, was carried off the field by John de Hainault, and fled with no more than five knights, and about sixty soldiers in his company, of all his mighty army, which at the beginning of the battle consisted of more than 120,000 men. Such was the famous victory of Crecy, the

A.D. 1346. the greatest ever gained by any king of England ¹⁴⁰.

**Behaviour
of Edward
and the
prince of
Wales.**

After the battle, the king flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and grasping him to his bosom, cried, in an ecstasy of joy, "My dear son, you have this day shewed yourself worthy of the knighthood which you lately received, and of the crown for which you have so bravely fought; persevere in your honourable course." The prince, as modest as he was brave, sunk down on his knees, his face covered with blushes, and begged his father's blessing ¹⁴¹.

**Loss of the
French.**

Edward continued with his army at Crecy three days, employed in numbering and burying the dead. The French had left on this bloody scene the king of Bohemia, eleven other princes, 80 bannerets, 1200 knights, 1500 gentlemen, 4000 men at arms, and 30,000 other soldiers ¹⁴².

**Success of
the English
in Gui-
enne.**

Never did a more glorious year than this pass over the head of any English monarch, the arms of Edward being every where crowned with the most brilliant successes. In Guienne the duke of Normandy had been obliged to raise the siege of Aiguillon with precipitation, on August 20, after having lost a great part of his army before its walls, in many vain assaults; and the earl of Derby made

¹⁴⁰ Froissart, l. i. c. 128, 129, 130, 131, 132. Walsing. p. 166. Knyghton, p. 2588. Avesbury, p. 109. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 525.

¹⁴¹ Froissart, l. i. c. 131.

¹⁴² Id. ibid. c. 132. Knyghton, p. 2588.

himself master of that whole province, with all its strong places ¹⁴³. A.D. 1346.

David Bruce, king of Scotland, having, at the instigation of France, invaded England with an army of 50,000 men, was, on October 12, at Nevil's cross, near Durham, defeated in a great battle, taken prisoner, and carried to the tower of London ¹⁴⁴. The parliament of England, dazzled with the lustre of so many victories, granted the king a very large supply, to enable him to prosecute the war with vigour.

David Bruce king of Scotland defeated and taken prisoner.

Edward marched his victorious army from Crecy, September 1, through the Boulonnois, towards Calais, which he invested on the 8th of that month; and being well acquainted with its importance, he resolved to make himself master of it if possible; but soon found that it could not be taken by force, without the destruction of great multitudes of his men. He therefore turned the siege into a blockade; and having made strong entrenchments to secure his army from the enemy, huts to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, and stationed a fleet before the harbour to prevent the introduction of provisions, he resolved to wait with patience till the place fell into his hands by famine. The besieged, discovering his intention, turned seventeen hundred women, children, and old people, out of the town to save their provisions;

A.D. 1347.
Siege of Calais.

¹⁴³ Froissart, t. i. c. 134, 135, 136.

¹⁴⁴ Avesbury, p. 142. Knyghton, p. 2590. Froissart, l. i. c. 137, 138, 139. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 530, 537, 539.

and

A.D. 1347. and Edward had the goodness, after entertaining them with a dinner, and giving them two pence a piece, to suffer them to pass ¹⁴⁵.

**Victory in
Brittany.**

While Edward lay before Calais, his troops in Brittany, commanded by sir Thomas Dagworth, defeated Charles de Blois, June 20, and took him, with two of his sons, and many other noblemen, prisoners ¹⁴⁶.

**Fruitless
attempt to
raise the
siege.**

Philip beheld the progress of the siege of Calais with unspeakable anxiety, and determining to make one great effort to save it, he summoned all his allies and vassals to rendezvous at Amiens, in Whitfun-week. By this means he raised an army of 150,000 men, with which he approached the English entrenchments, July 27 ¹⁴⁷. But finding these entrenchments impregnable, and every avenue to the town effectually guarded, after sending Edward some absurd challenges to come out and fight him, he decamped, August 2, marched back to Amiens, and disbanded his army ¹⁴⁸.

**Surrender
of Calais.**

The garrison and inhabitants of Calais had by this time consumed all their provisions, and even eaten all the horses, dogs, cats, and vermin, in the place, and were enduring the most cruel extremities of famine, in hopes of relief ¹⁴⁹. But when they beheld the retreat of the French army, these hopes entirely vanished; and the next day the go-

¹⁴⁵ Froissart, l. i. c. 133.

¹⁴⁶ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 540.

Avesbury, p. 114. Froissart, l. i. c. 143.

¹⁴⁷ Froissart, l. i. c. 144.

¹⁴⁸ Id. *ibid.* c. 145. Aves-

bury, p. 161, 162.

¹⁴⁹ Knyghton, col. 2593.

A.D. 1347.

vernor John de Vienne appeared upon the walls, and offered to capitulate. Edward, greatly incensed at their obstinate resistance, which had detained him eleven months under their walls, at an immense expence both of men and money, sent fir Walter Manny, an illustrious knight, to acquaint the governor, that he would grant them no terms; but that they must surrender at discretion. At length, however, at the spirited remonstrances of the governor, and the persuasions of fir Walter Manny, Edward consented to grant their lives to all the garrison and inhabitants, except six of the principal burgeses, who should deliver to him the keys of the city, with ropes about their necks. When these terms were made known to the people of Calais, they were plunged into the deepest distress; and after all the miseries they had suffered, they could not think without horror of giving up six of their fellow-citizens to certain death. In this extremity, when the whole people were drowned in tears, and uncertain what to do, Eustace de Pierre, one of the richest merchants in the place, stepped forth, and voluntarily offered himself to be one of these six devoted victims. His noble example was soon imitated by other five of the most wealthy citizens. These true patriots, barefooted and bareheaded, with ropes about their necks, were attended to the gates by the whole inhabitants, with tears, blessings, and prayers for their safety. When they were brought into Edward's presence, they laid the keys of the city at his feet, and falling on their knees implored his mercy in such moving

VOL. VII. R strains,

A.D. 1347. strains, that all the noble spectators melted into tears. The king's resentment was so strong for the many toils and losses he had suffered in this tedious siege, that he was in some danger of forgetting his usual humanity; when the queen, falling upon her knees before him, earnestly begged, and obtained, their lives. This great and good princess conducted these virtuous citizens, whose lives she had saved, to her own apartment, entertained them honourably, and dismissed them with presents¹⁵⁰.

Edward took possession of Calais August 4, and in order to secure a conquest of so great importance, and which had cost him so dear, he found it necessary to turn out all the ancient inhabitants, who had discovered so strong an attachment to their native prince, and to people it with English¹⁵¹. Soon after this, negotiations for a peace or truce were set on foot under the mediation of the pope; and on September 28, a truce was concluded between the kings of England and France, and their allies on both sides, to continue to July 8, next year; which by succeeding treaties was prolonged to 1355¹⁵². Edward having given all necessary orders for repairing the fortifications of Calais, and appointed Almerie of Pavia; an Italian, who had gained his favour by several brave actions, commander of that place, he em-

¹⁵⁰ Froissart, l. 1. c. 146. R. de Avesbury, p. 166.

¹⁵¹ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 575.

¹⁵² Id. *ibid.* p. 588. R. de Avesbury, p. 167—177.

barked

barked with his queen, the prince of Wales, and many noble persons, and after a stormy passage landed at Sandwich October 12¹⁵³. A.D. 1347.

It had been the wise policy of Edward to acquaint his parliament with all his proceedings, and ask their advice on every emergency; by which he gained their confidence and support. Soon after his return, he summoned a parliament to meet, January 14, at Westminster, whose advice he asked concerning the war with France (which was only suspended by a short truce), and concerning the best means of preserving the internal peace of the kingdom. The commons, who had paid very dear for the martial counsels they had formerly given, declined giving any advice about the war, which they suspected would be followed by the demand of a subsidy¹⁵⁴. This parliament not answering the king's views, who wanted an aid, though he had not the confidence to ask it, he dismissed them; and soon after summoned another to meet at the same place, March 17. Before this meeting he laid an alarming representation of mighty preparations making in France, with a design, as he said, to invade England, and destroy the whole kingdom; and demanded an aid to enable him to avert this imminent danger. The commons, after very bitter complaints of their extreme poverty, and of the late severe taxations, granted three fifteenths to be A.D. 1348.

¹⁵³ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 594. Walsing. p. 167.

¹⁵⁴ Parliamentary Hist. vol. 1. p. 268—272.

A.D. 1348. levied in three years, and appropriated to the charges of the war¹⁵⁵.

Plot to betray Calais discovered.

Edward soon found that he had made a very wrong choice of a governor for his new conquest of Calais. That ungrateful and venal Italian had allowed himself to be corrupted by Geoffrey de Charnay, governor of St. Omer's, and engaged for a bribe of 20,000 crowns to betray the town and castle into his hands. Edward received intelligence of this intended treachery, sent for him to London, shewed him that he was acquainted with his guilt; but promised him a pardon, if he would proceed in his plot, and betray the French into his hands. Almerie joyfully consented to this proposal, returned to his government, and informed Edward of the very hour when the French were to enter Calais.

A.D. 1349.
Plot defeated.

The king, having received this intelligence, departed secretly from London with the prince of Wales, and embarked at Dover with 800 men at arms, and 1000 archers, under sir Walter Manny, with whom he was very privately admitted into the castle of Calais. A few hours after his admission, a body of 100 French were let into the same castle; and having delivered the 20,000 crowns to the governor, a party of English rushed upon them, killed some and made the rest prisoners. Geoffrey de Charnay, with several brave knights, and a body of men at arms, were waiting in the mean time with great impatience at the Boulogne gate of

¹⁵⁵ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 269—271. Knyghton, c. 2596.

the city, in expectation of being admitted. But A.D. 1349.
 when the gate was opened, they beheld, to their
 great surprise, an English army march out in order
 of battle to receive them. Though the French
 were greatly disconcerted at this unexpected sight,
 they fought for some time with great resolution.
 During this dispute, the king had a fierce conflict
 with Eustace de Ribeaumont, a brave knight,
 whom he obliged to yield; and all the party were
 either killed or taken prisoners ¹⁵⁶.

As Edward was a great admirer of personal va- Generous
action of
Edward.
 lour, he ordered all the French knights and gen-
 tlemen to be feasted by the prince of Wales in the
 great hall of the castle. The king entered the hall
 in the time of the banquet, and discovered to his
 prisoners, that he had been present in the late con-
 flict, and was the person who had fought hand to
 hand with the sieur Ribeaumont. Then addressing
 himself to that gentleman, he gave him his liberty;
 presented him with a chaplet adorned with pearls,
 which he desired him to wear for his sake; and de-
 clared him to be the most expert and valorous
 knight with whom he had ever engaged ¹⁵⁷.

Edward having divested Almerie de Pavia of Edward
returns to
England.
 his command, of which he was so unworthy, and
 bestowed it on sir John Beauchamp, returned
 with the prince of Wales to England, to enjoy
 some repose after so many glorious toils and
 dangers.

¹⁵⁶ Avesbury, p. 180—182. Froissart, l. 1. c. 50, 51.

¹⁵⁷ Froissart, l. 1. c. 150, 151, 152.

A.D. 1349.

Great
pestilence.

The war between France and England was suspended for almost six years by several truces¹⁵⁸. But the calamities of war were immediately succeeded by a depopulating pestilence, which, in this and the succeeding year, carried off incredible multitudes in all parts of Europe, and particularly in England¹⁵⁹. Those who were seized with this plague commonly died in a few hours, and very few survived three days. It raged with so great violence in London, that 50,000 persons were buried in one year in one burial-place¹⁶⁰. In a word, if we may believe some writers, this dreadful disease swept away, in less than two years, nine tenths of all the people of England, together with the far greatest part of the cattle of all kinds¹⁶¹. But these accounts are certainly very much exaggerated.

A.D. 1350.

Naval
victory.

While England was afflicted with this destructive pestilence, it was threatened with an invasion by a fleet of Spanish pirates, consisting of forty very large ships. Edward, full of spirit and activity, thinking this an enemy not unworthy of his own presence, sailed from Sandwich on board an English fleet, attended by many of his chief nobility, in quest of these destructive rovers. He came up with them, August 29, off Winchelsey, where a fierce conflict ensued; in which the Spaniards were

¹⁵⁸ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 660. 672. 690. 722. 725.

¹⁵⁹ R. de Avesbury, p. 177—179. Knyghton, c. 2598.

¹⁶⁰ Stow's Survey, vol. 2. p. 62.

¹⁶¹ Id. *ibid.* p. 61. Knyghton, p. 2699. Walsing. p. 168.

defeated

defeated with great slaughter, and twenty-four of their ships taken ¹⁶². A.D. 1350.

A few days before this naval victory, died Philip de Valois, king of France, surnamed *the Fortunate*, a title which very ill agreed with the latter part of his reign. He was succeeded by his eldest son John I. a prince still more unfortunate than his father ¹⁶³. One of the first acts of this king was, renewing the truce with England; which, however, was very ill observed ¹⁶⁴. Death of Philip de Valois.

The animosity between the English and French was so great, that neither the pestilence, which had raged with great violence in both countries, nor the truce which subsisted between them, could restrain them from mutual hostilities. For this reason Edward complained to a parliament, which met in January A.D. 1352, that the French had been guilty of many violations of the truce; and demanded their advice and assistance in avenging these injuries, and asserting his claim to the crown of France. The commons, after some days spent in deliberation, delivered to the king in full parliament, a roll, containing a grant of three tenths and three fiftieths, to be levied in three years, together with certain petitions, which they desired might be converted into laws. The aid was thankfully accepted, and the petitions mostly granted ¹⁶⁵. A.D. 1352. Parliament.

¹⁶² Walsing. p. 169. R. de Avesbury, p. 185.

¹⁶³ Avesbury, p. 184.

¹⁶⁴ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 690.

¹⁶⁵ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 277.

A.D. 1352.

Action in
Brittany.

It would be tedious to relate all the little skirmishes which had happened between the English and French in Guienne, Brittany, the marches of Calais, and other places, since the commencement of the truce. But there was an action this year in Brittany of such importance, that it seems to merit a place in history. The marshal de Nelle, who commanded for the king of France and Charles de Blois in that duchy, surprised and surrounded a body of English troops, under sir Walter Bently, August 14, on the plain of Mauren, near Rennes. But the English fought with such astonishing valour, that they obtained a complete victory, killing the marshal himself, with eighty knights, and five hundred gentlemen, and taking a hundred and sixty knights and gentlemen prisoners ¹⁶⁶.

A.D. 1353.

Negotia-
tion for
peace un-
successful.

Notwithstanding all his glorious successes in his war with France, Edward at this time seems to have been sincerely inclined to peace, which was negotiating under the mediation of the pope. He went so far as to offer by his plenipotentiaries, the archbishop of Canterbury and duke of Lancaster, to resign his title of king of France, and accept, in lieu of all his pretensions to that crown, the absolute sovereignty of Guienne, Aquitaine, the town and marches of Calais, without the obligation of homage. But king John, no less imprudent, rash, and obstinate, than his father, rejected these offers ¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶⁶ Avebury, p. 189—192.¹⁶⁷ R. de Avebury, p. 196.
p. 2607.

Walsing. p. 170. Knyghton,

The state of France at this time was not such as to give king John any good reason for behaving with so much haughtiness. Besides the great losses which it had sustained in the late war, it was at present a scene of faction and discord, which had in some places broken out into open hostilities. These disorders were occasioned chiefly by the pride, perfidy, cruelty, and other vices of Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, a prince possessed of every shining endowment, and destitute of every moral virtue. Charles inherited from his mother, Jane, daughter of Louis Hutin, great possessions, and still greater pretensions, in several provinces of France. King John, in order to gain this turbulent prince, and attach him firmly to his interests, gave him his daughter Jane in marriage. Notwithstanding this intimate alliance, the perfidious Charles entered into secret intrigues with the king of England, caused the constable of France to be assassinated, and occasioned great disturbances in this and the preceding year¹⁰⁸. When things were in this unsettled state, the conferences for an accommodation were broken off, and all prospect of peace vanished.

A.D. 1354.

State of
France.

Edward had for some time past foreseen that the negotiations for peace would prove abortive, and had made great preparations for renewing the war with vigour, at midsummer this year, when the truce expired. He first designed to have sent an army, commanded by the duke of Lancaster, into Normandy, where the king of Navarre had pro-

A.D. 1355.

Expedition
of Edward
prince of
Wales
commonly
called the
Black
Prince.¹⁰⁸ Froissart, l. 1. c. 154. Mezeray, an. 1353.

A.D. 1355. mised to join him with all his forces. But that prince having made his peace with his father-in-law, Edward was obliged to change his measures ¹⁶⁹. The prince of Wales was sent into the west to raise an army in those parts, and a fleet was prepared at Plymouth to take them on board. Accordingly, the prince, with a gallant train of English noblemen, and a considerable body of English troops, sailed from that port, September 10, and arrived safe at Bourdeaux. Here he was joined by so many noblemen of the country, with their followers, that he soon found himself at the head of an army of 60,000 men, with which he marched from Bourdeaux, October 5, and ravaged the whole province of Languedoc. He several times endeavoured to bring the French army in those parts to an engagement; but finding this impossible, after having burnt about five hundred villages, and a great number of large and strong towns, he marched back to Bourdeaux about Christmas, and put his army into winter quarters ¹⁷⁰.

Expedi-
tion of
Edward
into
France.

While the prince of Wales was destroying with fire and sword the south of France, the king of England was spreading desolation through the northern parts of that kingdom. Arriving at Calais in the last week of October, and having joined the forces he brought with him to those which he found there, he made up a gallant army, with which he marched from Calais, November 2,

¹⁶⁹ Mezeray ad an. 1354. Froissart, c. 154.

¹⁷⁰ Avesbury, p. 210—227. Kaynton, col. 2608.

towards

towards St Omer's, where the king of France lay, in hopes of bringing him to battle. But that prince retiring at his approach, he followed him as far as Hesden, desolating the country ; and then returned to Calais, disbanded his army, and embarked for England, where his presence was much wanted ¹⁷¹.

A.D. 1355.

The Scots, though their king was still a prisoner in England, had taken the town of Berwick by surprise, on November 6, and were meditating an incursion into the northern counties ¹⁷². Edward, immediately upon his return, held a parliament at Westminster, November 23 ; and sir Walter Manny, by the king's command, gave the two houses a long detail of the late negotiations for a peace, the expedition to Calais, and the surprisal of Berwick by the Scots ; and concluded with demanding an aid to enable the king to bring the war to a speedy and happy issue. The commons, after some deliberation, granted a very liberal aid of fifty shillings on every sack of wool exported for six years ¹⁷³.

The Scots surprise Berwick.

A parliament.

Edward, as soon as the parliament was dissolved, set out for Newcastle, where he had commanded his army to rendezvous, in order to recover Berwick, which he invested January 14, A. D. 1356 ¹⁷⁴. The Scotch garrison, sensible that the town was not tenable without the castle (which they had not been able to take), surrendered it

A.D. 1356.

Edward retakes Berwick.

¹⁷¹ Avesbury, p. 204—209. Walsing. p. 171.¹⁷² R. de Avesbury, p. 209. Knyghton, col. 2611.¹⁷³ R. de Avesbury, p. 210. ¹⁷⁴ Rymer, t. 5. p. 829.

A.D. 1336. in a few days¹⁷⁵. Edward having burnt the towns of Haddington and Edinburgh, and desolated the adjacent country, returned to England soon after Candlemas.

Baliol resigns the crown of Scotland to Edward.

Edward Baliol still bore the title of king of Scotland. But for several years past that title had been only an empty name, without any power or revenue. It was not difficult therefore to persuade this shadow of a king, who was now an old man, and without heirs, to resign all his rights to the crown and kingdom of Scotland to the king of England, for a pension of 2000*l.* a year, and some other advantages. This he accordingly did at Roxburgh, by an instrument dated January 20; and Edward was at great pains to render his title to the crown of Scotland, from the resignation of Baliol, as strong as pen, ink, and parchment could make it, by several subsequent deeds¹⁷⁶.

Excursions of Edward prince of Wales.

Edward prince of Wales marched from Bourdeaux, July 6, with an army of 12,000 (some writers say only 8000) men, and traversed the countries of Agenois, Quercy, Limousin, Auvergne, and penetrated into Berry, plundering and burning many towns and villages as he advanced. Having taken Romorantin, September 4, after a siege of six days, he continued his march through part of Touraine and Anjou, entered Poitou, and on Saturday September 17, encamped at Maupertuis, within two small leagues of Poitiers. The same evening the king of France, with an army of 60,000 horse, besides foot, encamped

¹⁷⁵ Knyghton, col. 2611. R. de Avesbury, p. 228.

¹⁷⁶ Rymer, t. 5. p. 823. 843. Knyghton, col. 2611.

within

within a mile of the English¹⁷⁷. It would not have been very difficult for king John to have inclosed the prince of Wales and his little army, and to have reduced them by famine. But this method appeared too slow to his impatient courage, and he resolved to attack them next day. Prince Edward having found that it would be impossible for him to reach Bourdeaux, before he was overtaken by the French army, had chosen his ground with great judgment, where he resolved to make a stand. It was a small inclining plain, surrounded with woods, vineyards, hedges, and ditches, and only accessible by one narrow defile in his front. His troops laboured with great ardour in making entrenchments wherever it was thought necessary, to render the approaches of the enemy still more difficult.

A.D. 1356.

Early on Sunday morning, September 18, the French army was drawn up in order of battle, and ready to begin the attack, when the cardinal of Perigord interposed, and earnestly intreated the king to permit him to go to the prince of Wales, and prevent the effusion of blood, by persuading him to surrender. Having obtained permission, he went to the prince, whom he found at the head of his troops ready to receive his enemies. The cardinal opened the intention of his visit; and the prince, not insensible of his own danger, and that of his brave companions, declared his willingness to consent to any terms not inconsistent with his own honour and that of his country. Upon this

Cardinal endeavours to prevent a battle.

¹⁷⁷ Froissart, c. 157—183. Walsing. p. 171. Knyghton, col. 2612.

A.D. 1356.

a negotiation was set on foot, which prevented a battle for that day, but in the end proved abortive. The prince consented to restore all the places, prisoners, and booty he had taken that campaign, and to engage not to bear arms against France for seven years, if he was allowed to march to Bourdeaux without interruption. But the king insisting that the whole English army, with their illustrious leader, should surrender themselves prisoners, the prince gave for his final answer, "That he never should be made a prisoner but sword in hand." The cardinal, despairing of success in the negotiation, retired to Poitiers; and both parties prepared for deciding this important quarrel next day by the edge of the sword.¹⁷⁸

The order
of the
English
army.

Early on Monday morning, September 19, the prince of Wales, being that day to fight for honour, liberty, and life, against an army eight times the number of his own, drew up his troops in the most excellent order. He placed the capital de Buche, with 600 men, in ambush, with directions to make a circuit, and fall on the enemy's rear as soon as the battle began. He lined the hedges on both sides of the defile leading to his camp with his best archers, and placed a strong body of the same troops at the head of it, in the front of his army. The rest of his forces were formed into three lines; the van commanded by the earl of Warwick, the main body by the prince himself, and the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk. As soon as these dispositions were made,

¹⁷⁸ Froissart, l. i. c. 161. Walsing. p. 172.

the

the prince mounted his horse, and riding gently along the lines, with a countenance in which modesty, goodness, and fortitude, were strongly painted, addressed himself to every corps, exhorting them to fight valiantly in the approaching battle, telling them, that victory did not depend on numbers, but on the will of Heaven; that, for his own part, he was determined to conquer or die; and that England never should have his ransom to pay¹⁷⁹.

A.D. 1356.

By this time the French army (drawn up in three lines, the first commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, the second by the dauphin, with his two brothers Lewis and John, the third by the king, attended by his youngest son Philip) was advancing to the charge. The battle was begun by three hundred chosen men in complete armour, and nobly mounted, who were ordered to pass the defile to dissipate the body of archers at the head of it, and make way for the rest of the army. They obeyed these orders with great resolution; but one half of them fell in the passage, and the other was cut in pieces at the outlet. A great body of men at arms, on foot, then entered the defile, commanded by the marshals Clermont and Andrechan; but the former of these generals being killed, and the latter taken prisoner, and many of their men slain by the archers who lined the hedges, and by the first line of the English army, the rest fled back with great

Battle of
Poitiers.

¹⁷⁹ Froissart, l. 1, c. 161, 162.

A.D. 1356.

terror and precipitation, and threw the whole first line of the French army into confusion. The second line, commanded by the dauphin, then advanced to the charge; but at that instant the captal de Buche issuing from his ambuscade, and making a furious attack upon their flank, they were seized with a panic, and began to fly. The noblemen who had the charge of the dauphin and his two brothers, anxious for their safety, carried them off the field; upon which that whole line disbanded, and fled on all sides. The prince of Wales and the other English generals observing the confusion and flight of their numerous enemies, and determining not to give them time to recover from their consternation, mounted on horseback, with their followers, and rushing out into the plain, completed the disorder. They first encountered and killed the duke of Athenes, constable of France, and dissipated his brigade; and then falling upon a great body of German horse, they put them to flight, after killing the counts Sarbruck and Nydo, two of their leaders, and taking the count of Nassau, their other general, prisoner. The king of France, with his youngest son by his side, still continued fighting on foot, in hopes of changing the fortune of the day, till the greatest part of his guards being taken or slain, he found himself almost alone among a great body of his enemies, who called upon him to surrender. After inquiring anxiously for his cousin the prince of Wales, and being told that he was in a distant part of the field, he yielded himself,

himself, with his son, prisoners to Denis de Morbec, a gentleman of Artois. In the mean time the prince of Wales, ready to faint with fatigue, had been persuaded by his attendants to repose and refresh himself in a little tent. Being assured that the king of France had not fled, he was anxious to know his fate, and sent the earl of Warwick and lord Cobham to gain intelligence. These noblemen soon found the royal captive in extreme danger of being slain, by a crowd of English and Gascon soldiers, who had taken him from Morbec, and were contending violently about the right to his ransom; and having delivered him from this danger, they conducted him to the prince's tent. This amiable prince, who in the heat of the action had been furious as a lion, was now all gentleness and humanity. He received his illustrious prisoner with all the marks of the most profound respect and feeling sympathy; and having ordered a magnificent supper to be served up, he declined the honour of sitting at table; but, standing behind the king's chair, entertained him with soothing and consolatory discourse. The captive monarch was so much affected by this noble deportment of his modest conqueror, that he melted into tears, and declared, that since it was his hard fate to be vanquished and taken prisoner, he rejoiced that he had fallen into the hands of the most valiant and generous prince that ever lived ¹⁸⁰.

A.D. 1356.

¹⁸⁰ Froissart, l. i. c. 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164. Walsing.
p. 171, 172. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 869, 870,

A.D. 1136.

French
killed and
taken.

There are not many examples in history of so great a deliverance, and so complete a victory, as the prince of Wales obtained at this famous battle of Poitiers. The French left dead on this scene of blood, two dukes, nineteen earls, a great number of knights and gentlemen, and about 6000 men at arms, besides other soldiers. The prisoners were still more numerous, and of higher quality, than the slain: for, besides the king and his youngest son, there were taken three princes of the blood, one archbishop, seventeen earls, 1500 inferior barons, knights, and gentlemen; besides several thousand men at arms¹⁸¹. The ransoms of these prisoners, and the spoils of the French camp, loaded the English army with riches as well as glory. The day after the battle the prince and his army returned thanks to God for their victory; after which the prince thanked his troops for their brave and gallant behaviour in the late battle, and bestowed particular honours and rewards on such as had distinguished themselves. To the lord Audeley in particular he granted 500 marks a-year; which that generous nobleman bestowed on his four brave and faithful esquires, and afterwards received a more ample grant of 600 marks a-year from the prince¹⁸². Having collected the spoils and prisoners, the prince conducted his army by easy marches to Bourdeaux¹⁸³. It is impossible to express the joy which the royal

¹⁸¹ P. Æmyl. p. 197. R. de Avesbury, p. 252—255. Knyghton, col. 2613, &c.

¹⁸² Froissart, l. 1. c. 165, 167, 169.

¹⁸³ Walsing. p. 172.
family

family and the people of England felt when they received the news of this glorious victory. The king commanded a solemn thanksgiving to be observed in all the churches ¹⁸⁴.

The prince of Wales spent the winter at Bourdeaux, where, by the mediation of the pope, a truce was concluded between England and France March 23, to continue till Easter 1359 ¹⁸⁵. The prince of Wales, with king John, his son Philip, and a gallant train of noblemen, set sail from Bourdeaux April 24, and landed at Plymouth May 5 ¹⁸⁶.

A.D. 1356.

A.D. 1357.
Prince of
Wales,
with his
prisoners,
arrives in
England.

Great preparations had been made at London for the triumphant entry of the victorious prince and his royal captive. Early in the morning, May 24, the lord mayor and aldermen, attended by 1000 citizens, richly attired and nobly mounted, received the prince and king, with their train, at Southwark, and conducted them into the city. The king, in royal robes, was mounted on a beautiful white steed, and the prince in a plain dress, rode by his side on a little black palfrey. The procession reached Westminster-hall about noon, where king Edward was seated on a magnificent throne; from whence he descended as soon as the captive monarch came in view, advanced to meet him, and embraced him with all the marks of the most respectful and cordial affection. After these pompous ceremonies were ended, the king of

Triumph.

¹⁸⁴ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 870.¹⁸⁵ Id. t. 6. p. 4—10.¹⁸⁶ Walling. p. 172.

A.D. 1357. France and his son were lodged in the palace of the Savoy, and entertained with all the kindness and courtesy which the most perfect laws of chivalry required¹⁸⁷.

King of
Scotland
released.

Few princes ever enjoyed a more perfect felicity than king Edward did at this time. Happy in his family, adored by his subjects, admired by all the world, he beheld the kings of the two hostile nations of France and Scotland at once captives in his court. The negotiations for the release of the last of these princes were soon after this brought to a conclusion; his ransom was settled at 100,000 marks, to be paid in ten years, during which time a truce was to subsist between the two nations. David Bruce, having given some of his chief nobility as hostages for the payment of his ransom, was set at liberty October 3, and returned into his own kingdom, after having endured a tedious captivity of eleven years¹⁸⁸.

Deplorable
state
of France.

The deplorable consequences of the battle of Poitiers now appeared in France, and brought that kingdom to the very brink of ruin. After the king was taken prisoner, the reigns of government naturally fell into the hands of the dauphin, a young prince of nineteen, who assumed the title of *Lieutenant of the kingdom*, and summoned an assembly of the estates at Paris in the end of the last year. But the members of this assembly, instead of unit-

¹⁸⁷ Froissart, l. 1. p. 173.

¹⁸⁸ Rymer, vol. 6. p. 30—65. Knyghton, p. 2617. Froissart, l. 1. c. 174. Walsing. p. 173.

ing

ing for the relief of their captivated prince, and bleeding country, fell into the most violent factions, and broke up in confusion, without granting any supply. This licentious spirit which appeared in the estates was communicated to the populace of Paris and other cities, seized the peasants in the country, inflamed the mutinous foldiers, and threw all things into confusion. The dauphin called another assembly of the estates this year in the beginning of November, which behaved in the same factious manner, and separated without applying any remedy to the disorders of their country. To increase these disorders, the king of Navarre, who had been thrown into prison by king John about three years before, escaped from his confinement, and flew to Paris, where his party was strongest. He was met at some distance by his great partisan, Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants, at the head of 10,000 people, and conducted in a kind of triumph into the city. This turbulent prince, being possessed of an uncommon degree of popular eloquence, a dangerous talent in the hands of a bad man, mounted a scaffold, and harangued the people in such a pathetic strain, on the injustice of his own imprisonment, and the oppressions of the government, that their minds were inflamed almost to madness. They massacred the two marshals Clermont and Conflans in the dauphin's presence, who was in danger of sharing the same fate.

This young prince behaved with uncommon prudence in this perilous situation. He flattered

A.D. 1357.

A.D. 1358.
Prudent
conduct of
the dauphin.

A.D. 1358.

the provost of the merchants, and the other heads of the faction, with the hopes of the highest honours; and yielded with seeming cheerfulness to all the demands of the king of Navarre. Amongst other things, he sent orders to the governors of certain cities in Normandy, to which that prince pretended a right, to surrender them into his hands. But the governors, suspecting that these orders were extorted, refused to obey; and Charles was so imprudent, as to leave Paris March 2, at the head of an army of his most zealous partisans, to compel them to obedience. The dauphin taking advantage of the absence of the king of Navarre, and the good humour of the provost of the merchants, got himself declared regent of the kingdom by the parliament; and then retiring privately from Paris, he held an assembly of the estates at Compeigne May 1. The estates, no longer influenced by the factious spirit which reigned in Paris, granted ample supplies both of men and money; which enabled the dauphin to form the blockade of Paris with a good army.

King of
Navarre
claims the
crown of
France.

The king of Navarre, who now pretended a right to the crown of France, from his mother, Jane, daughter of Lewis Hutin, lay with an army at St. Denis. But he had already lost much of his popularity in that city, by taking a party of English adventurers into his pay, who plundered without distinction the friends and enemies of their present master. The provost of the merchants observing this change in the sentiments of the people, and dreading

dreading a total defection, formed a plot to admit the king of Navarre with his army, and to proclaim him king of France; and the 1st of August was fixed for the execution of this plot. But some suspicions arising, the provost was killed in a tumult, when he was on the point of opening one of the gates; and the people being informed of the plot which he had laid, they dragged his dead body through the streets, loaded the king of Navarre, so lately their idol, with a thousand curses, and loudly called for the return of the dauphin, who entered the city soon after, amidst the loudest acclamations. The return of the capital to its obedience had a happy effect on the rest of the kingdom, and the government daily gained new strength¹⁸⁹.

A.D. 1358.

While these things were doing in France, king John had been negotiating in England with king Edward for his liberty, and a peace between their kingdoms. At length a treaty of peace was concluded and signed by both kings, on March 24, at London, and a copy of it sent into France. The dauphin, who was now reconciled to the king of Navarre, summoned an assembly of the estates, and laid the treaty before them for their advice. But the conditions of peace in this treaty requiring the cession of many rich provinces in France to the crown of England, appeared to this assembly too severe, and they unanimously advised the regent to reject it¹⁹⁰.

A.D. 1359.
Peace rejected by the dauphin.

¹⁸⁹ Mezeray Hist. Fran. p. 376, 377, &c. Froissart, l. 1. c. 179, 180, 181, 185, 186, 187.

¹⁹⁰ Rymer, t. 6. p. 134. Froissart, l. 1. c. 201.

A.D. 1359.

Expedi-
tion into
France.

King Edward was greatly incensed at this resolution of the regent and estates of France, and declared, that since they were for war, they should have it in its most dreadful forms. The truce which would have expired April 9, had a little before been prolonged to Midsummer¹⁹¹. But as that term was approaching, he made great preparations for an invasion of France. It was October before every thing could be got ready for this grand expedition; and on the 27th of that month Edward arrived at Calais, attended by his four eldest sons, and the flower of the English nobility, with an army of 100,000 men, in a fleet of 1100 ships¹⁹².

Besieges
Rheims in
vain.

At the head of this formidable army he marched out of Calais, November 4, and traversing the provinces of Artois and Picardie, he invested the city of Rheims in Champagne, with a view of being there crowned king of France. But the inhabitants, assisted by some noblemen, with their followers, and animated by their archbishop, defended the place so bravely, that after lying near three months before it in the depth of winter, he found it necessary to raise the siege¹⁹³.

A.D. 1360.

Paris be-
sieged.

Edward then directed his march towards Paris, plundering the country as he advanced, and having received 100,000 nobles from the duke of Burgundy to spare his territories, he arrived before the capital of France on the last day of March. During the Easter holidays hostilities were suspended, and some

¹⁹¹ Rymer, t. 6. p. 121, 122.

¹⁹² Walsing. p. 174.

¹⁹³ Id. *ibid*.

propofals for peace were made ; but they came to nothing. Having in vain challenged the dauphin, who was in Paris with an army, to come out and fight him, and having alfo made a fruitless attempt upon the fuburbs of that city, he marched off towards Brittany, refolving to refresh his army for fome time in that province, after the fevere fatigues of a winter campaign, and to return in fummer to befiege Paris in form ¹⁹⁴.

A.D. 1360.

The dauphin and his council being deeply affected with the deplorable defolations of their country, which were increafed by a fresh defection of the perfidious king of Navarre, and dreading ftill greater miferies, became earneftly defirous of a peace, which they folicted by commiffioners, who followed Edward in his march towards Brittany. Thefe follicitations being feconded by the instances of the pope's legate, and the wife and moderate counfels of the excellent duke of Lancafter, at length made an impreffion on the king's heart ; and a treaty of peace was concluded at Bretigny, near Chartres, May 8, on the following terms. The king of France ceded to the king of England, befides the fuperiority of Guienne and Ponthieu, the earldom of Poictiers, the fief of Thouars, the countries of Poictou, Xaintonge, Agenois, Limoufin, Perigort, Quercy, Bigorre, Gavre, Angoumois, and Rouvergue, with all their cities and caftles, in full fovereignty. In the fame ample and full manner were yielded to England, on the

Peace with
France at
Bretigny.

¹⁹⁴ Froiffart, l. 1. c. 207. 211. Walfing. p. 173, 174.

other

A.D. 1360. other side of France, the town, castle, and territory of Calais, with the earldom of Guisnes. The king of France agreed to pay for his ransom three millions of crowns of gold, at different payments, and to give forty noble hostages for security. The king of France agreed to renounce all alliances and connections with the Scots, and to contract none for the future; and the king of England made the same concessions with regard to the Flemings. John de Mountfort was to be restored to all his possessions in France; and the dispute between him and Charles de Blois, about the duchy of Brittany, was to be referred to commissioners. This famous treaty contained several other articles, relating to the time and manner of King John's being set at liberty, and of his delivering to king Edward the several countries, towns and castles, and also many regulations for the further security and more effectual execution of the whole. By the twelfth article of this treaty, king Edward renounced all title to the crown and kingdom of France, to the countries of Normandy, Tourain, Anjou, and Main, and to the sovereignty of Brittany and Flanders.

The king
of France
set at li-
berty.

As soon as Edward had finished this great work of peace, he returned to England, and landed at Rye, May 18¹⁹⁵. In the beginning of July he sent the king of France to Calais, agreeable to an article of the treaty¹⁹⁶. On October 9, he followed to the same place, to finish all regulations for the execution of the treaty, to receive the first

¹⁹⁵ Rymer, vol. 6. p. 196.

¹⁹⁶ Id. ib. p. 198.

payment

payment of the king of France's ransom, and to set that prince at liberty. About the same time the dauphin and his council arrived at Boulogne; and after some days spent in conferences, all particulars were adjusted, and the treaty of peace ratified by both kings, at Calais, October 24¹⁹⁷. The day after, king John was set at liberty, and Edward accompanied him about a mile out of Calais, where the two kings took their leave of one another, with the strongest expressions of mutual affection and regard¹⁹⁸. On the last day of October, king Edward landed at Dover, and was every where received by his subjects with the strongest demonstrations of love and admiration. For though the late long war had been very glorious, it had been also exceedingly expensive, and the people of England were transported with joy at the return of peace.

A.D. 1360.

The joy occasioned by the peace was not a little allayed by the breaking out of a pestilence, which carried off great multitudes of the common people, and not a few of the nobility, and amongst others Henry the Good, duke of Lancaster, one of the most virtuous, amiable, and accomplished noblemen of that age¹⁹⁹.

A.D. 1361.
Pestilence.

The execution of the treaty of peace was attended with great difficulties, chiefly arising from the attachment of the noblemen in the ceded countries to their ancient and native princes, and their un-

Treaty of
peace exe-
cuted.¹⁹⁷ Rymer, vol. 6. p. 219—229.¹⁹⁸ Froissart, l. 1. c. 213.¹⁹⁹ Dugd. Baron. vol. 1. p. 798.

willingness

A.D. 1361. willingness to transfer their allegiance to the king of England ²⁰⁰. But these difficulties were at length in a great measure overcome by the perfect honour and integrity of king John, and the great wisdom and activity of the lord Chandos, appointed by Edward his lieutenant in all these countries.

A.D. 1362. King Edward soon after fell upon an effectual method of reconciling these countries to the English government, by bestowing them on his amiable son the prince of Wales, who was admired and beloved by the very enemies whom he had subdued. Accordingly the prince who had lately married his cousin Jane, daughter and sole heiress of Edmund Plantagenet earl of Kent, a lady of great merit and beauty, was created prince of Aquitaine, and had a grant of Guienne, Ponthieu, and all the territories in those parts of France lately yielded to the crown of England, to hold them of that crown by liege homage, and an annual tribute of an ounce of gold ²⁰¹.

A.D. 1363. The prince of Wales having received the investiture of these rich and extensive territories, resolved to fix his residence at Bourdeaux, and spent some months in making preparations for his voyage to that capital of his new dominions. He arrived there in February A.D. 1363, with his beautiful princess, formerly known by the name of *the Fair Maid of Kent*; and having established a splendid court, his mild and equitable administration gave universal satisfaction to his new subjects.

²⁰⁰ Froissart, l. 1. c. 214.

²⁰¹ Rymer, vol. 6. p. 384—390.

By an article of the late treaty of peace, as it was finally settled at Calais, it was agreed that the formal deeds of renunciation of the several countries, towns, and other things, given up by the one king to the other, should not be exchanged till after these countries, towns, &c. were actually given up. It was expected, that the doing this might require about twelve or thirteen months; and therefore the 30th November 1361 was appointed for exchanging these mutual renunciations, and finishing this great work of peace²⁰². But the difficulties which had arisen in delivering some places to the English, and disputes about others, had still prevented the exchange of these renunciations, and left this great transaction in some measure incomplete. The dukes of Anjou and Berry, two of king John's sons, and the duke of Orleans, his brother, with the duke of Bourbon, who remained in England as hostages for the payment of that prince's ransom, pretended, that if they were carried to Calais, and indulged in a little more liberty, they could contribute greatly to remove all difficulties. They were accordingly conveyed to that city, and allowed to go where they pleased for four days together at any one time. The duke of Anjou abused this indulgence, and made his escape into France²⁰³.

A.D. 1363.

Duke of Anjou makes his escape.

King John, greatly offended at his son's dishonourable conduct, resolved to come into England to finish every thing relative to the peace, by a personal treaty with Edward. His ministers en-

King of France arrives in England.

²⁰² Rymer, vol. 6. p. 231, 232. 239. 262.²⁰³ Id. *ibid.* p. 453—456. Froissart, l. 1, c. 218.

A.D. 1363. deavoured to dissuade him from taking this step ; but to all their remonstrances he replied, " That though honour and good faith should forsake every other part of the world, they ought still to be found in the breasts of princes." He accordingly arrived in England about Christmas A. D. 1363, and was again lodged in the palace of the Savoy.

A.D. 1364. It doth not appear that this voyage of king John contributed much to remove the difficulties in the execution of the late treaty of peace. For he fell sick of a fever at the Savoy, about the middle of March, and died there April 8, A. D. 1364²⁰⁴.

John de Mountfort obtains the duchy of Brittany.

The famous dispute about the duchy of Brittany, which had subsisted many years, was finally determined by a battle, September 29, near the town of Auray. In this decisive action, one of the competitors, Charles de Blois, lost his life ; and his rival, John de Mountfort, son-in-law to the king of England, obtained the long-contested prize. For though this event, so pleasing to Edward, was very mortifying to Charles V. who had lately mounted the throne of France, that wise prince submitted to the decision of the sword, and granted John de Mountfort the investiture of Brittany, without any further struggle²⁰⁵.

A.D. 1365. France desolated by adventurers.

The kingdom of France had suffered many calamities during the late war ; and it was not immediately relieved from them by the peace of Bretigny.

²⁰⁴ Froissart, l. i. c. 219.

²⁰⁵ Histoire de Brit., p. 502. Froissart, l. i. c. 226, 227.

This was owing to great multitudes of adventurers of different nations, who had served in the armies of France and England. These adventurers, having been long accustomed to live by rapine and plunder, when they were disbanded, were unwilling to return to the arts of civil life; but, forming themselves into regular bodies, under bold commanders, they seized upon some towns and castles in almost every province in France, and from thence plundered the neighbouring countries. They called themselves *the Companions*, and the bodies into which they were formed *the Companies*. These Companies, in the year 1361, defeated a royal army commanded by John de Bourbon earl of Marche, who was mortally wounded in the action ²⁰⁶. The pope, who then resided at Avignon, and dreaded a visit from these lawless plunderers, launched his spiritual thunders against them, and published a croisade for their extirpation. But in vain. They still continued to increase in number, and to become more daring in their enterprises: In the beginning of the year 1366, they amounted to 50,000 men, and caused the king of France to tremble on his throne. By an article of the late treaty of peace, both kings had engaged to join their forces for the extirpation of these robbers, if it became necessary; and Edward was now called upon to fulfil this engagement. In consequence of this requisition, he made great preparations for an expedition into France against the companies.

A.D. 1365.

²⁰⁶ Froissart. l. i. c. 177, 178. 214, 215.

But

A.D. 1365. But the greatness of these preparations alarmed Charles, who, upon second thoughts, was not very fond of seeing the king of England at the head of a great army in the heart of France; and therefore sent him word that his assistance was not necessary. Edward, greatly offended at this message, desisted from his enterprize ²⁰⁷.

A.D. 1366. What Charles could not do by force, he accomplished by policy, and happily delivered his country from those dangerous and destructive Companies. He first endeavoured to persuade them to undertake an expedition into the East for the recovery of the Holy Land; and the pope seconded these persuasions, by promising them the pardon of all their sins, which were neither few nor trifling, and a good place in paradise after death. But the companions had too much cunning, and too little religion, to be taken by such a bait.

The Companies de-
throned
Don Pedro
king of
Castile.

An expedition was soon after proposed, more agreeable to their views and dispositions. Don Pedro king of Castile had justly merited the name of *Cruel*, by murdering many of his nobility,—one of his natural brothers,—and his queen, Blanche of Bourbon, sister to the queen of France. Henry earl of Trastamare, another of his natural brothers, fled into France, and solicited king Charles to revenge the death of his sister-in-law by dethroning the tyrant. It immediately occurred to Charles, that this would be a proper employment for the Companies; and he directed the brave du Guesclin

²⁰⁷ Walsing. p. 178.

to enter into a negotiation with them for that purpose. Their leaders had so high an opinion of the honour and bravery of du Guesclin, that they agreed to evacuate France, and follow him into Castile. Here they met with little or no resistance. The tyrant don Pedro, being abandoned by all the world, fled with his treasures and family, first to Corunna, and afterwards to Bourdeaux; and Henry de Trastamare was crowned king of Castile with universal applause²⁰⁸.

A.D. 1366.

Though don Pedro, the dethroned king of Castile, was a faithless and sanguinary tyrant, he was not destitute of specious and engaging qualities. His situation, and that of his family, which consisted of three daughters, was affecting; and he paid his court so artfully to the prince of Wales, that he unhappily espoused his quarrel, and resolved to attempt his restoration.

The Black Prince undertakes to restore don Pedro.

This amiable and fortunate prince was the idol of all the military men of his age, who crowded from all countries to his standard. His brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, joined him with a chosen body of men at arms from England. Many Gascon lords embarked in the expedition. The companies who were still in Castile, being privately invited into his service, deserted by thousands, and made their way to Bourdeaux by different routes. Out of all these the prince composed an army of 30,000 select troops; with which he set out on this expedition about Christmas, attend-

Marches an army into Spain.

²⁰⁸ Froissart, l. 1. c. 230.

A.D. 1166. ed by the kings of Castile and Majorca, his brother the duke of Lancaster, and a splendid train of English and Gascon noblemen ²⁰⁹.

A.D. 1167. Don Henry, against whom this expedition was undertaken, was of a character very different from his brother. He was brave, humane, sincere, and generous ; and as much beloved by his subjects as the other had been hated. Having made all possible preparation for his own defence, he took the field at the head of 40,000 horse and 60,000 foot, and was soon after joined by the brave du Guesclin, with 4000 men at arms. With this powerful army he advanced to meet the prince of Wales ; who having entered Castile in the beginning of March, was approaching by easy journies. The two armies met on Saturday, April 3, near the town of Najara, where a bloody battle was fought ; in which the conduct, valour, and fortune of the prince of Wales prevailed, and the mighty army of don Henry was entirely routed, many thousands slain in the action, and a great multitude taken prisoners. The cruel don Pedro would have put all the prisoners to the sword ; but was restrained from this horrid deed by the prince, who even prevailed upon him, with much difficulty, to publish a general offer of pardon to all his subjects who would return to their obedience. This offer was universally accepted, and don Pedro was restored to his throne without any further trouble.

²⁰⁹ Freiffart, l. 1. c. 231—236.

It soon appeared that this tyrant was as perfidious and ungrateful as he was cruel; for instead of paying the army which had restored him to his throne, according to his engagements, he detained them all the summer with vain hopes and trifling excuses. At length the prince of Wales, perceiving that there was nothing to be expected from a monster devoid of every principle of honour, seeing his men daily perishing by the excessive heats, to which they had not been accustomed, and finding his own health sensibly impaired by the same cause, left Castile, and brought back the shattered remains of his victorious army to Bourdeaux²¹⁰.

A.D. 1367.

Perfidious
conduct of
don Pe-
dro.

Nothing could be more glorious to the prince of Wales than his conduct of this Spanish expedition; but nothing could be more fatal to him than its consequences. It ruined his health, and embittered the few remaining years of his life, by a continued series of troubles. He had not only exhausted his treasury, by raising and paying the army which he had carried into Castile, but he had contracted a prodigious load of debt, and had brought back with him 6000 of those dangerous Companions, who, for want of pay, began to live by the plundering of his subjects. Yet such was the veneration that even these lawless rioters bore to the person of this excellent prince, that at his request they evacuated his territories, and carried their ravages into France. It was not

A.D. 1368.

Fatal con-
sequences
of the
Spanish
expedi-
tion.

²¹⁰ Froissart, l. i. c. 237—244.

A.D. 1368. so easy to discharge his debts. In order to this, he was unhappily advised by the bishop of Rodez, his chancellor of Guienne, to impose, with the consent of the estates, a tax of one livre upon every hearth in his French dominions for five years; which, by a very erroneous computation, it was supposed would produce 1,200,000 livres annually. To this heavy and unusual tax, some provinces submitted without much reluctance; but several great lords in Guienne declaimed against it with great vehemence, and secretly entered into intrigues with the court of France for overturning the English government, which this tax had rendered unpopular ²¹¹.

A.D. 1369.
Don Pedro
put to
death.

In the mean time the tyrant don Pedro, who, by his perfidy and ingratitude, had involved his protector in so many troubles, met with the just reward of all his crimes: for Henry de Trastamare, having made his escape from the unfortunate battle of Najara, took shelter in the court of his friend and ally the king of Aragon. Here he left his family, and went into France to solicit succours, and wait for an opportunity of recovering the crown which he had lost. As soon as he heard of the return of the prince of Wales into Guienne, he collected a small army of about 9000 men, with which he returned into Castile, defeated the tyrant, took him prisoner, and put him to death with his own hand ²¹². But the destruction of the tyrant put no stop to the troubles in which

²¹¹ Froissart, l. 1. c. 244.

²¹² Id. *ibid.* c. 245.

the prince of Wales was involved by his unfortunate connection with him.

A.D. 1369.

Perfidious
conduct of
the French.

The Gascon noblemen did not content themselves with opposing the imposition of the tax on hearths, in the assembly of estates; but after that assembly broke up, they went to Paris, and implored the protection of king Charles as superior lord of Guienne, though they well knew that he had given up that title in the late treaty of peace. It doth not belong to historians to determine the stability of national characters, and how far the credit of posterity ought to be affected by the conduct of their ancestors; but this much is certain, that the French on this occasion discovered the most profligate contempt of the most solemn oaths and treaties, and a total disregard to honour and good faith. For though Charles had given up, in the strongest terms that could be devised, all right to the sovereignty of Guienne, and the other territories ceded to the crown of England by the treaty of Bretigny, he acted as if he had never heard of such a treaty, and summoned the prince of Wales to appear before the court of peers at Paris on May 1. The prince, equally surprised and provoked at this summons, replied, that he would come to Paris at the head of 60,000 men; a threat which his declining state of health never permitted him to execute²¹³.

Charles having taken this bold step, to which he was encouraged by the advanced age of the

King of
France
prepares
for war.

²¹³ Froissart, t. 1. ch. 246, 247, 248.

A.D. 1169. king of England, and the ill health of his heroic son, secretly prepared for war; and trusting more to policy than force, he set intrigues on foot in every province of the English dominions in France. These intrigues, favoured by the discontents of the people occasioned by the late tax, by their affection for their ancient sovereigns, and by the influence of the clergy, were but too successful ²¹⁴.

Edward
resumes
the arms
of France.

Edward laid an account of these unexpected events before his parliament, which met June 3, and by their advice resumed the title and arms of king of France ²¹⁵. This parliament also granted him a high duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, to enable him to prosecute the approaching war with vigour.

War with
France.

About this time the effect of the French intrigues appeared by the revolt of several towns in Ponthieu, Guienne, and other provinces, and by a visible tendency in others to imitate their example. War being now declared, both parties took the field, and there followed a variety of skirmishes, captures, and surprises of towns and castles, which it would be tedious to relate minutely ²¹⁶. Though the king of France had collected a prodigious sum of money, under the pretence of paying his father's ransom, and had secretly made great preparations for this war, which he had long meditated, yet for some time his arms made little progress.

²¹⁴ Froissart, t. x. c. 246, 247, 248. ²¹⁵ Rymer, vol. 6. p. 621.

²¹⁶ Froissart, l. x. c. 250—277.

But the brave John lord Chandos being killed in a skirmish on January 1, A. D. 1370, and the health of the prince of Wales so much impaired that he could no longer mount on horseback, and appear at the head of his troops, the fortune of the war began to change, and the French took several places of strength, and had others betrayed into their hands²¹⁷. Among these last was the city of Limoges, which, at the instigation of its bishop, revolted and admitted a French garrison.

A.D. 1370.
Successes
of the
French.

The prince of Wales, greatly incensed at the loss of this place, which he had fortified at a great expence, sent the inhabitants a summons to return to their duty and expel the French garrison, threatening to raze their city to the ground, after putting them all to the sword, if they did not obey. But the people of Limoges treated this summons with the most insolent contempt. The prince collecting a body of troops, and getting into a litter, being unable to ride, conducted them to Limoges, and invested the place. Sensible of its great strength, he did not attempt to take it by assault; but having made a breach in the walls, by undermining them, he entered by the breach, and put the whole garrison, and 3000 of the inhabitants, to the sword. It was with some difficulty he was prevailed upon to spare the life of the bishop, who had been the cause of all this mischief, by acting a part so contrary to his oaths, and inconsistent with his function²¹⁸.

Prince of
Wales
takes
Limoges.

²¹⁷ Froissart, l. 1. c. 277, &c.

²¹⁸ Id. *ibid.* c. 287. Walsing. p. 185.

A.D. 1370.

Prince of
Wales re-
signs his
command.

The taking of Limoges is chiefly memorable on this account, that it was the last military exploit of the prince of Wales; who finding himself unable any longer to endure the fatigues of war, retired to Bourdeaux, and resigned the command of the English armies in France to his brother John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who had lately, together with the earls of Pembroke and Cambridge, come from England with a reinforcement ²¹⁹.

A.D. 1371.

Prince of
Wales ar-
rives in
England.

The prince of Wales, finding his strength daily declining, yielded to the advice of his physicians, who encouraged him to hope that his native air would contribute to his recovery. Having held an assembly of all the loyal barons of his French dominions at Bourdeaux, and engaged them to promise obedience to his brother the duke of Lancaster, he embarked for England in the month of January, A. D. 1371, with his princess, and only surviving son Richard, and landed at Southampton ²²⁰.

Mar-
riages.

John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, being now a widower, married the princess Constantia, eldest daughter of the late don Pedro king of Castile, and his brother Edmund earl of Cambridge married her sister the princess Isabella. The duke of Lancaster, immediately after his marriage, assumed the title of *king of Castile*, and thereby rendered Henry de Trastamare, who wore that crown, a violent and dangerous enemy to England ²²¹.

²¹⁹ Froissart, l. 1. c. 287. Walsing. p. 185.

²²⁰ Froissart, l. 1. c. 293.

²²¹ Id. *ibid.* c. 300.

The military events of this year were very fatal to the English interest on the continent. The duke of Lancaster having returned to England with his royal bride, the earl of Pembroke was appointed commander in chief of the English forces in the principality of Aquitaine, and was sent thither with a fleet of forty ships, containing a reinforcement of troops and a supply of money. The earl designed to land his forces at Rochelle; but when he approached that place, June 23, he fell in with a powerful squadron belonging to don Henry, king of Castile, who had warmly espoused the cause of France. An engagement immediately commenced, which continued all that day, and was renewed next morning with equal fury. At length, towards the evening of the second day, victory declared in favour of the Spaniards, whose ships were much larger than those of the English, and provided with cannon, which did great execution. The earl of Pembroke, with several other chieftains were made prisoners, and the greatest part of the fleet either taken or sunk ²²².

A.D. 1372.

English
fleet de-
tected.

By this disaster, Ponthieu, Guienne, and the other English provinces in these parts, were left an easy prey to the constable du Guesclin, who fell into them with a great army, and took many places of strength without any resistance, and others with very little. The city of Rochelle was betrayed to the French by its mayor, and Thouars capitulated to surrender at Michaelmas, if it was

Losses of
the Eng-
lish.

²²² Froissart, l. 1. c. 302, 303, 304.

A.D. 1372. not relieved before that time by the king of England, or one of his sons ²²³.

Edward attempts to relieve Thouars.

On hearing of this capitulation, Edward put himself at the head of an army which he had provided for invading France on the side of Picardie, with which he embarked August 30, and failed to relieve Thouars, and recover his other losses in those parts. But that wonderful gale of prosperity which had so long favoured this prince in all his undertakings, had now forsaken him. After contending nine weeks at sea, with contrary winds, he was obliged to return with his fleet to England; and Thouars surrendered, according to the capitulation ²²⁴. The miscarriage of this expedition was followed by the loss of all Ponthieu, except a few places.

A parliament.

Edward after his return held a parliament, which met at Westminster November 3, and continued the additional duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for two years longer, besides granting the king a fifteenth ²²⁵. Thus the English were at as great expence in losing, as they had been at in gaining, their French dominions.

A.D. 1373. John de Mountfort abandons Brittany.

The constable du Guesclin finished the conquest of Ponthieu, and Xaintonge in the beginning of this year ²²⁶. As the allies of England had reaped great advantages from her former victories, some of them were now involved in her misfortunes; particularly John de Mountfort duke of Brittany.

²²³ Froissart, l. 7. c. 307—311.

²²⁴ Id. ibid. c. 311.

²²⁵ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 312.

²²⁶ Froissart, l. 1. c. 312.

This prince being son-in-law to king Edward, and sensible that he owed his dominions to his protection, was a zealous friend and favourer of the English. Charles king of France, well knowing his inclinations, confiscated the duchy of Brittany, and sent the constable du Guesclin with an army to take possession of it. That general met with little resistance, many towns opening their gates at the first summons; and the duke, afraid of being betrayed into the hands of the French, retired into England, leaving the brave sir Robert Knolles his lieutenant in Brittany ²²⁷.

A.D. 1373.

Edward, resolving to make another great effort for the recovery and preservation of his French dominions, appointed his son John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, his lieutenant in the kingdom of France and principality of Aquitaine, and sent him with an army to Calais. The duke marched from Calais, July 20, at the head of 30,000 men; and having ravaged the provinces of Artois and Picardie, he pursued his route through Champagne, Burgundy, Beaujolois, Farez, Auvergne, into Guienne, and arrived at Bourdeaux about Christmas, with the shattered remains of his army, without having besieged one town or fought one battle ²²⁸.

Duke of Lancaster's expedition into France.

Conferences for a truce or peace between the kings of France and England had been lately opened at Bruges, under the mediation of the

A.D. 1374.

²²⁷ Froissart, l. 1. c. 314.²²⁸ Walsing. p. 187. Froissart, l. 1. c. 316, 317.

A.D. 1374. pope. After some time had been spent in these conferences, a truce was concluded, February 11, to continue to Easter; and this truce was afterwards prolonged to May 1, in the following year ²²⁹. This truce was but ill observed by the duke of Anjou, who had long before violated his parole of honour to king Edward, and now reduced the greatest part of Guienne before the expiration of the truce. Thus Edward had the mortification to see himself deprived of all his conquests in France (except Calais), the fruits of the glorious victories of Crecy and Poitiers, rather by the perfidy than the valour of his enemies, and his own imprudent confidence in their honour and good faith.

A.D. 1375. The conferences for a peace still continued at Bruges, and the truce, by several prolongations, was extended to April 1, 1377 ²³⁰. The duchy of Brittany was not comprehended in the first truces; and John de Mountfort having returned from England with some troops, recovered a considerable part of his dominions. But a stop was put to this career of success, by his being included in the last truce, to which he submitted ²³¹.

A.D. 1376. Though a long truce was now concluded, and negotiations for a peace were carried on, there was little prospect of their success; and it was expected that the war would be renewed as soon as the truce expired. To be prepared for this event, Edward

Parliament.

²²⁹ Rymer, vol. 7. p. 51—57.

²³⁰ Rymer, vol. 7. p. 68—92.

²³¹ D'Angoulême Hist. de Brit. 1. 8. c. 20.

summoned

summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster A.D. 1376. April 28, and demanded a supply for carrying on the war with France. The parliament continued the high duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for three years longer, and promised a further aid if it should be found necessary²³². But it soon appeared that this assembly was far from being pleased with the late management of public affairs, and the conduct of those who now possessed the highest place in the king's favour. In consequence of their complaints, the lord Latimer, and several other persons of inferior note, were imprisoned for embezzling the public treasure, and other misdemeanors. Though this was an age of chivalry, in which the adoration of the fair sex was carried to the most extravagant height, yet a lady fell under the censures of this parliament. This was the famous Alice Perrers, for whom Edward, after the death of his excellent queen Philippa, had contracted an affection. This lady being of a covetous disposition, very much abused the fondness of her royal lover, and is said to have carried her effrontery so far as to sit on the bench, and dictate to the judges. At the request of the commons, she was banished from court, but soon after recalled²³³.

While this parliament was sitting, the nation sustained an irreparable loss, by the death of Edward prince of Wales, better known to posterity

Death of
the prince
of Wales.

²³² Parliament. Hist. vol. 7. p. 319.

²³³ Walsing. p. 179. Barnes, p. 280—282.

A.D. 1376.

by the name of the *Black Prince*. This excellent prince, after languishing several years under a lingering disease, which he had contracted in Spain, was in the last stage of it seized with a fever, of which he died in the palace of Westminster June 8, in the 46th year of his age. Though this event had been long expected, and though all the fruits of his glorious victories were already lost and gone, there never was a more sincere and universal mourning than on this occasion. The character of this prince was a happy mixture of great and good qualities, which formed the illustrious hero and the amiable man, and rendered him at once the object of universal love and admiration. His death is thought to have shortened the days of his royal father, and broke the heart of that renowned warrior John de Grielly, capital de Buche, who refused all nourishment, and was impatient to follow his beloved master to the grave. The parliament, though in no very good humour, discovered the deepest concern for his death, and the highest veneration for his memory, by attending his remains to the cathedral of Canterbury, where he was buried, and by petitioning the king to introduce his only surviving son, Richard of Bourdeaux, then a youth of ten years and five months old, into their assembly, that they might have the pleasure of beholding this only representative of their beloved prince, and of paying their duty to him as heir-apparent to the crown. At the request of both houses Richard was created prince of Wales, and invested

invested with all his father's honours and possessions²³⁴. A.D. 1376.

As the truce with France was now drawing towards an end, and as all endeavours to bring about a peace had proved abortive, nothing was expected but the renewal of the war. To provide for this event, a parliament met on January 27, at Westminster, which was opened by Richard prince of Wales, by commission from the king, then indisposed. The commons, after some deliberation, and conferring with a committee of the lords, granted the king a poll-tax of fourpence from every person in the kingdom above fourteen years of age, except beggars²³⁵. There seems to have been a perfect harmony between the king and this his last parliament, which petitioned him to release the lord Latimer, Alice Perrers, and others, from the censures inflicted upon them by the late parliament, and to restore them to their former state²³⁶. A.D. 1377.
Parliament.

Edward finding, from the declining state of his health, that his death was fast approaching, was earnestly desirous of making peace with France, that he might not leave his infant successor involved in a war with so powerful an enemy. But the same circumstances rendered the French so high in their demands, that, though commissioners had been appointed to treat of peace, nothing could be concluded before king Edward's death, which Death of
Edward
III.

²³⁴ Froissart. l. i. c. 224, 225. Walsing. p. 190.

²³⁵ Parliament. Hist. vol. i. p. 326.

²³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 327.

happened

A.D. 1317. happened at his palace of Shene, June 1, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign²³⁷.

Character
of Ed-
ward.

Edward III. was in his person well shaped, tall, strong, and active; his countenance was comely, his air majestic, and his address engaging. He much excelled and greatly delighted in the manly exercises of those times, particularly tournaments, which were often celebrated at his court with great magnificence. His genius, both for learning, politics, and war, was far above the common rate. He understood several languages, and was well versed in the learning of his time, as well as a munificent patron of learning and learned men. He discovered great prudence in the conduct of his affairs, the management of his parliaments, and the many wise laws which were made in his reign for the advancement of arts and commerce; though he was shamefully outwitted by Charles king of France, and his brothers, rather through their total want of faith and honour, than his want of policy. His almost constant success in war, while he appeared at the head of his armies, is a sufficient proof of his military talents²³⁸. If we examine his wars with France and Scotland by the strict rules of morality, they will not appear very justifiable; and if we judge of them by their final issue, they were not very profitable. For though he inflicted infinite mischiefs on both these king-

²³⁷ Rymer, vol. 7. p. 151.

²³⁸ Anonimi Hist. Ed. III. p. 451. Walsing. p. 192, 193.

doms, and raised the martial fame of England to the highest pitch, it was at a prodigious expence of blood and treasure; and he made no lasting conquests, except Calais and Berwick. The ambition of this prince, which hath gained him the greatest fame, was in reality the most exceptionable part of his character, which was adorned with many shining virtues. He was a rare example of human felicity, having for more than forty years enjoyed a very uncommon degree of happiness in his family, and of success in all his undertakings. A.D. 1177.

Edward's only queen was Philippa of Hainault; with whom he lived in the most perfect conjugal harmony above two and forty years, and by whom he had seven sons and five daughters, viz. His issue.

1. Edward of Woodstock, commonly called the *Black Prince*, from the colour of his armour, the darling of his royal parents, was born at Woodstock, June 15, A. D. 1330²³⁹; married to his cousin Jane, the Fair Maid of Kent, in 1361; by whom he left an only son, named Richard, who succeeded his grandfather in the throne²⁴⁰.

2. William of Halfield, born 1336; died young²⁴¹.

3. Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence, born November 29, 1338²⁴²; was married, first, to Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of Ulster; by whom he

²³⁹ Walsingham, p. 730.

²⁴⁰ Sandford's General Hist. p. 215, &c.

²⁴¹ Ypod. Neust. f. 512.

²⁴² Sandford, p. 222.

A.D. 1377. left one daughter, Philippa, married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche. For his second wife, the duke of Clarence married Violante, daughter of the duke of Milan; by whom he had no children. He died in Italy, in 1368²⁴³.

4. John of Gaunt, born in 1340; was married, first, in 1359, to Blanche, one of the daughters and coheiresses of Henry the Good, duke of Lancaster (after whose death he was created duke of Lancaster); by whom he left a son, named Henry, successively earl of Derby, duke of Hereford and Lancaster, and king of England, by the name of Henry IV²⁴⁴. For his second wife, John of Gaunt married Constantia, eldest daughter of don Pedro king of Castile; in whose right he assumed that title; and by whom he had a daughter, afterwards queen of Castile. For his third wife he married Catharine Swinford; by whom he had several children.

5. Edmund of Langley, born in 1341, created earl of Cambridge in 1362, and duke of York in 1384; married Isabella, youngest daughter of don Pedro king of Castile; by whom he had Edward, his eldest son, who died without issue; and Richard earl of Cambridge; who marrying his cousin Anne Mortimer, heiress of the house of Clarence, had Richard duke of York, who was father of Edward IV. king of England²⁴⁵.

²⁴³ Sandford, p. 219, 222. 225.

²⁴⁴ Walsing. p. 148.

²⁴⁵ Ypod. Neust. f. 514. Sandford, p. 357, 358. 360. 365.

6. William of Windsor, who died in his infancy ²⁴⁶. A.D. 1377.

7. Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and Constable of England ²⁴⁷.

The daughters of king Edward and his queen Philippa were, 1. Isabel, married in 1365 to Enguerrand de Coucy, created duke of Bedford; 2. Joan, contracted to don Pedro king of Castile, but died of the plague at Bourdeaux, in 1349, before marriage ²⁴⁸; 3. Blanche, who died in her infancy; 4. Mary duchess of Brittany; 5. Margaret countess of Pembroke, who died without issue.

DAVID BRUCE, king of Scotland, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Durham, October 17, A. D. 1346, continued in captivity no less than eleven years, though various negotiations were set on foot for procuring his deliverance ²⁴⁹. He was permitted to pay a visit to his dominions, A. D. 1351, upon giving hostages, and making oath to return into custody when required ²⁵⁰. This relaxation in his confinement (which had been very strict) was probably granted to promote the success of a private agreement which he had made with the king of England, by procuring the consent of his subjects to that agreement. The nature of this secret treaty between the two kings is not known;

History of
Scotland.

²⁴⁶ Sandford, p. 178.

²⁴⁷ Id. p. 227.

²⁴⁸ Rymer, vol. 5. p. 422, 425, 426, 427, 428, &c.

²⁴⁹ Rymeri Fœd. t. 5. p. 618. 686. 699, 700.

²⁵⁰ Id. ibid. p. 711. 722. 724. 727.

A.D. 1351. but it is believed to have been unfavourable to the independency of Scotland; and David having failed in his attempts to procure its confirmation, returned into confinement, A. D. 1352²⁵¹. After long conferences, a treaty for the liberation of David, and a truce of nine years, was concluded at Newcastle, 13th July A. D. 1354, ratified by the commissioners of Scotland 12th November, and 'by the king of England and the prince of Wales 5th December²⁵². But the effect of this treaty was prevented by the intrigues of the king of France; who, by sending a body of soldiers, and a sum of money into Scotland, prevailed upon the Scots to continue the war; and they had the good fortune to defeat sir Thomas Gray, keeper of Norham castle, in October, and to take the town of Berwick in November, A. D. 1355²⁵³. But they did not long enjoy this conquest; for Edward having invested the town with a great army, it was surrendered by capitulation 13th January A. D. 1356²⁵⁴.

A.D. 1356.
Expedi-
tion of
Edward
III. into
Scotland.

Edward, having recovered Berwick, and obtained a formal surrender of the crown and kingdom of Scotland from his wretched tool Edward Baliol (January 20), marched at the head of a great army into Lothian, attended by a fleet of victuallers in the Forth. But the Scots having removed all their cattle and provisions, and the English fleet

²⁵¹ Rymeri Fœd. t. 5. p. 737. 746. Fordun, l. 14. c. 15.

²⁵² Rymeri Fœd. t. 5. p. 793. 812.

²⁵³ Fordun, l. 14. c. 9. 10.

²⁵⁴ Fordun, l. 14. c. 22. Rymer. Fœd. t. 5. p. 828.

having

having been dispersed by a storm, he found it impossible to proceed any further than to Edinburgh. His troops were harassed in their retreat by flying parties of the Scots, which provoked him to destroy the country with fire and sword, not sparing the most magnificent churches²⁵⁵. This expedition was long remembered in Scotland by the name of *The burnt Candlemas*.

A.D. 1356.

Edward, convinced of the difficulty of subduing Scotland, began to think seriously of making peace with that country, and of procuring as great a ransom as he could for its king, who was still his prisoner. With this view he appointed William de Bohun earl of Northampton, and others, his commissioners, to treat with the prelates, nobles, and people, of Scotland, about the redemption of David Bruce, and a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms²⁵⁶. The parliament of Scotland (17th January A. D. 1357) named four commissioners, two bishops, and two barons, to treat with those of England²⁵⁷. That the conferences might not be interrupted by hostilities, a truce for six months was concluded 8th May²⁵⁸. The commissioners of both kingdoms met at Berwick, to which place the captive king was also conducted²⁵⁹. The chief difficulty in this negotiation was, to settle the ransom to be paid by the Scots for the redemption of their king. The English demanded

King of Scots ransomed.

²⁵⁵ Fordun, l. 14. c. 13.²⁵⁶ Rymeri Fœd. t. 5. p. 847.²⁵⁷ Id. ibid. p. 831.²⁵⁸ Id. ibid. t. 6. p. 15.²⁵⁹ Id. ibid. p. 31.

A.D. 1357. 100,000 marks, an exorbitant sum in those times, containing as much silver as 200,000*l.* of our money, and more difficult to raise than a million would be at present. As no abatement of this demand could be obtained, the commissioners, and also the parliament of Scotland, engaged to pay it in ten years, by equal payments of 10,000 marks each year; and to give twenty young men of quality hostages, for security²⁶⁰. By one article it was provided, that the truce between the two kingdoms should continue till the ransom was paid. In consequence of this treaty the king of Scots was set at liberty, in October A. D. 1367.

Treaties.

The fatal expedition into England, A. D. 1346, which had involved the king and people of Scotland in so many calamities, had been undertaken at the instigation of France; and therefore the Scots very properly applied to France to assist them in paying the heavy ransom of their king. This application was at first eluded by excuses; but the French being still at war with England, and standing in need of the aid of their ancient allies, a treaty was concluded, April A. D. 1360, in which the French engaged to pay the Scots 50,000 marks, and the Scots engaged to renew the war with England²⁶¹. But this treaty was never executed: for by an article of the famous treaty of peace between the French and English at Bretigny, concluded only about a month after, the

²⁶⁰ Rymer. Ford. t. 6. p. 46—52.

²⁶¹ Annals of Scotland, vol. 2. p. 246, 247, 248.

king

king of France renounced every alliance with Scotland, and engaged, for himself and his successors, never to make any new alliance with that kingdom²⁶². In this manner do great kings sometimes trifle with their engagements.

A.D. 1360.

After Scotland had been long involved in the calamities of war, it was visited by a destructive pestilence, A. D. 1361, which raged a whole year, and is said to have carried off about one third of the inhabitants²⁶³. Johanna queen of Scotland, sister of Edward III. died in England, A. D. 1362²⁶⁴.

Pestilence.

King David Bruce paid frequent visits to England after he recovered his liberty, and was engaged in certain secret intrigues with that court, to defeat the succession of his nephew Robert the Stewart, who had been regent of the kingdom during his captivity. After his return from one of these visits, A. D. 1363, he made a proposal to his parliament at Scone, That if he died without issue, they should chuse Lionel duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III. to be their king. This proposal was unanimously rejected with scorn and indignation by the parliament, who declared, That they would never permit an Englishman to reign over them; but would support the settlement of the crown, which had been made by parliament on the Stewart and his family²⁶⁵. David was not deterred by this

Intrigues to defeat the succession of Robert the Stewart.

²⁶² Rymeri Foed. t. 6. p. 178—196.²⁶³ Fordun, l. 14. c. 24, 25.²⁶⁴ Walsing. p. 179.²⁶⁵ Fordun, l. 14. c. 25.

A.D. 1363. resolute answer, or even by the civil commotions which his proposal had occasioned, from pursuing his pernicious schemes: for on his return to England he made an agreement with Edward, that he, or the king of England for the time being, should succeed to the crown of Scotland, on the death of David without issue; and a plan was formed for regulating the government when that event took place²⁶⁶. But it was soon found, that these dark intrigues and private conventions could have no effect, while the Scots were unanimously determined to defend their independency; and therefore they were kept secret.

Marriage
and death
of David
II.

David Bruce, being now a widower, fell in love with and married Margaret Logie, a gentlewoman of singular beauty. For some time the influence of this lady over her amorous husband was very great; but it was not of long duration; and they were divorced in February A. D. 1370²⁶⁷. David did not long survive this event. He died in the castle of Edinburgh, 22d February A. D. 1371, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and forty-second of his reign²⁶⁸.

Character.

David II. though not defective in personal courage, was a weak, capricious, and unfortunate prince, having spent about one half of his reign in exile or in captivity. The veneration of the Scots for the memory of their illustrious deliverer, Robert

²⁶⁶ Rymeri Fœd. t. 6. p. 426, 427. *Annals of Scotland*, vol. 2. p. 253, &c.

²⁶⁷ Fordun, l. 24. c. 28, 34.

²⁶⁸ Id. *ibid*.

Bruce,

Bruce, kept them steady in their attachment to his only son, in spite of all his failings. He was succeeded by his nephew Robert the Stewart, the first of that family who wore a crown, A.D. 1371.

SECTION V.

The civil and military history of Britain, from the accession of Richard II. June 21, A. D. 1377, to the accession of Henry IV. September 30, A. D. 1399.

RICHARD II. was in the 11th year of his age, when he succeeded his grandfather Edward III. on the throne of England. His, tender years, the exquisite beauty of his person, and the remembrance of his beloved father the Black Prince, greatly endeared him to his subjects, who expressed the highest satisfaction at his accession. When king Edward lay at the point of death, the citizens of London sent a solemn deputation to the prince, then at Kingston upon Thames, to profess their attachment to his interest, and invite him to take up his residence in their city; with which invitation he complied. He was crowned at Westminster, July 16, with great magnificence, and every possible expression of universal joy ¹. A.D. 1377.
Accession
of Richard
II.

¹ Walsing. p. 193. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 157—160.

But

A.D. 1377.

Unfavourable state of England.

But notwithstanding all these fair appearances, the affairs of England were not in a very happy situation at this time. The young king being incapable of holding the reins of government, was wholly under the direction of his three uncles, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langley earl of Cambridge, afterwards duke of York, and Thomas of Woodstock, earl of Buckingham, afterwards duke of Gloucester. The duke of Lancaster, who bore the chief sway, was proud, passionate, and unpopular, and very unfit for the difficult part he had to act. The nation was involved in an unfortunate war with France, for which no preparation was made, and was also on ill terms with Spain and Scotland; and the commons were greatly discontented at the continual demands which had been lately made upon them for the support of the French war. The ill effects of these unfavourable circumstances soon appeared.

War with France.

The truce with France having expired May 1, the war was renewed; and the French had sent armies into Guienne, Brittany, and the marches of Calais, where they had taken two forts before the late king's death. In August, a body of French plundered the isle of Wight, burnt the town of Hastings, and made attempts upon Winchester and Southampton, though without success².

Parliament

To provide for repelling these insults, and prosecuting the war with vigour, a parliament was

² Walsing. p. 198, 199. Froissart, l. 1. c. 347.

summoned

summoned to meet at Westminster, October 13. The house of commons, after consulting with a committee of lords, granted two fifteenths from the counties, and two tenths from the cities and boroughs, to be paid into the hands of John Philpot, and W. Walworth, merchants in London, and appropriated to the expences of the war, together with the subsidy on wool. Through the influence of the king's uncles in this parliament, the famous Alice Perrers was sentenced to banishment, and her estates confiscated. No regent nor regency was appointed; but by the assent of the king and lords to a petition of the commons, a council of nine persons was chosen, to advise and assist the king in the administration of government for one year, and a like council ordained to be chosen every year, by parliament, during the king's minority³. This method was probably taken out of jealousy of the duke of Lancaster, who had the best claim to the regency, if a regent had been appointed.

A.D. 1377.

The war between England and France was not carried on with much vigour on either side, nor did it produce many events worthy of the attention of posterity. One Mercer, a Scotchman, infested the north-east coasts of England with a small fleet, and seized some ships in the port of Scarborough; but John Philpot of London fitted out some ships at his own expence, with which he engaged Mercer, defeated, and took him prisoner⁴.

A.D. 1378.
Progress
of the war.

³ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 335—344.

⁴ Walling. p. 211.

A.D. 1378.

Duke of
Lancaster's ex-
pedition into
France.

The duke of Lancaster, though not directly regent, had an almost unbounded influence over the council of administration; and prevailed with them to give him the disposal of the money arising from the late parliamentary grants, promising not only to protect the kingdom from all its enemies, but also to perform some notable exploit for its honour and advantage. To perform this promise, he raised an army and equipped a fleet for invading France. Before the grand fleet was ready to sail, he sent the earls of Arundel and Salisbury, with a few ships and some troops, to take possession of Cherburg, which was ceded to England by the king of Navarre. The two earls had an engagement on their passage with a Spanish fleet, in which they sustained some loss, though they afterwards executed their commission. About the end of July the duke sailed with a gallant fleet and army; and, landing in Brittany, invested St. Malo. The constable du Guesclin hastened with an army to the relief of the place; and the duke, finding it would be impossible to take the town in the presence of the enemy, raised the siege, and returned home, without having performed any thing worthy of his mighty promises and great expences^s.

War with
Scotland.

A party of about eighty Scots, commanded by sir Alexander Ramsay, surprised the castle of Berwick on November 25; but it was soon after recovered by the earl of Northumberland, and all the Scots, except their leader, put to the sword,

^s Walſing. p. 200. 210. 213. Froissart, l. 1. c. 329.

After

After this the earl marched into Scotland; but a part of his army being defeated near Melrose, he dismissed the rest, and put an end to the campaign⁶.

A.D. 1378.

A parliament met at Gloucester, October 20, to which it was represented, that the king was at a great expence in maintaining the garrisons of Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne, and in defending the kingdom from its numerous enemies; and a supply was demanded for defraying these expences. The house of commons discovered an extreme unwillingness to comply with this demand; alleging, that there must be a great part of the money granted by the last parliament still in the treasury; that the king's ordinary revenues were sufficient, with good management, for answering all these purposes; and that the people of England had nothing to do with the great charge of 46,000*l.* for maintaining the garrisons in France. But at length, by the earnest and repeated entreaties of the lords, the commons were prevailed upon to continue the high duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, and even to grant an additional duty of one mark on every sack of wool, and every two hundred and forty wool-fells, and two marks on every last of leather, besides 6*d.* in the pound on all merchandise exported and imported⁷.

Parliament.

⁶ Froissart, t. 2. c. 7—10. Walsing. p. 219.

⁷ Carte, vol. 2. p. 547. ex Rot. Parliament. Walsing. p. 215. Parliament. Hist. vol. 4. p. 348—355.

A.D. 1179.

Revolu-
tion in
Brittany.

The late unsuccessful expedition of the duke of Lancaster into Brittany, was followed by the loss of all that duchy, except Brest, which was put into the hands of the English by John de Mountfort duke of Brittany, for an estate in England, where he resided with very little hopes of ever being restored to his dominions⁸. The conquest of this country appeared so complete to Charles V. king of France, that by a solemn sentence he annexed the duchy of Brittany to the kingdom of France for ever⁹. But so uncertain are the principles of human policy, that this sentence, calculated to extinguish the last hopes of John de Mountfort, was the means of restoring him to the possession of his country in a very little time. For though the people of Brittany disliked their duke for his inviolable attachment to England, and on that account had assisted the French in expelling him, there was nothing in the world they dreaded so much as the subjection of their country to the crown of France. In order to avoid this, they sent repeated invitations to Mountfort to return into Brittany, promising to receive him as their sovereign, and to support him with the utmost zeal and loyalty. Being at length convinced of their sincerity, he sailed from Southampton, and landing near St. Malo, August 3, with a few troops, he was every where received with the loudest acclamations of joy, and got possession of the chief places of his dominions¹⁰.

⁸ Rymer, vol. 7. p. 190—195. ⁹ D'Argentré Hist. Brit. l. 9. c. 3.

¹⁰ Walsing. p. 225. Froissart, t. 2. ch. 44.

Though

Though the events of the war with France, Castile, and Scotland, were not very memorable; the expences of it, and of the foreign garrisons, were very great, and occasioned frequent applications to parliament. One was summoned to meet at Westminster January 14, A. D. 1380; which, after appointing commissioners to examine into every branch of the administration, granted one fifteenth and a half from the counties, and one tenth and a half from the cities and boroughs; and continued the high duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for another year after Michaelmas next, when they were to have expired¹¹. Having thus provided for the public expences, they requested that there might be no meeting of parliament for one year after Michaelmas next.

Though the people of Brittany had received their duke with great cordiality, he soon found that it would be impossible for him to contend with the superior power of France without assistance from England, which he solicited with much earnestness. A great army was raised and sent to his relief, under the command of the king's uncle, Thomas earl of Buckingham; which, marching from Calais in the end of July, passed through Picardie, Champagne, and other provinces of France, plundering the country, without meeting with any opposition¹².

As this army approached the confines of Brittany, they received the news of the death of the

A.D. 1380.

Expedition into
Brittany.

Death of
Charles V.

¹¹ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 355—357.

¹² Froissart, l. 2. c. 50—55.

king

A.D. 1380. king of France, Charles V. who expired on September 16, and was succeeded by his son Charles VI. a youth about twelve years of age¹³.

Change in
the Duke
of Brit-
tany.

This event produced a great change in the designs of the duke of Brittany. This prince, observing that the aversion of his subjects to the English was not in the least abated, and that several of his towns were resolved to shut their gates against them, began to think of making his peace with France, and with great secrecy sent commissioners to Paris to propose an accommodation. But as he had invited the English army to his assistance, he found it necessary to receive them with some degree of civility; and sent six of his chief nobility to compliment the earl of Buckingham on his arrival in Brittany, and to propose an interview with their duke. These princes accordingly met at Meziere, near Rennes; where it was agreed, that the English army should undertake the siege of Nantes, in which the duke promised to join them with his forces, in a few weeks. The English, in consequence of this agreement, invested Nantes, and continued the siege about two months; when finding that the duke had failed in his engagement to join them, through the aversion of his subjects to the English interest, they raised the siege, and retired to Vannes into winter-quarters¹⁴.

War with
Scotland.

The Scots invaded and plundered Cumberland and Westmoreland in summer, and carried off

¹³ Froissart, l. 2. c. 56. 60.

¹⁴ Froissart, t. 2. ch. 59—63.

much booty; particularly several thousands of cattle of different kinds. When the earl of Northumberland was raising an army to retaliate this injury, he was restrained by orders from court. These orders were probably procured by the influence of the duke of Lancaster, who designed this employment for himself. Accordingly he made an expedition into Scotland, where he gathered no laurels; but having concluded a truce at Berwick, November 1, he returned to England¹⁵.

A.D. 1389.

Though the last parliament had requested that there might not be another till a year after, the exigencies of the state requiring it, one was called to meet at Northampton November 5, and a fresh supply demanded, for the pay of the army under the earl of Buckingham in Brittany, and for other purposes. The parliament, after long deliberation, and several conferences between the two houses, imposed a poll-tax of three groats on every person in the kingdom above fifteen years of age, except mere beggars, the richer to assist the poorer¹⁶: a tax which was productive of very fatal consequences.

Parliament.

The negotiations of the duke of Brittany at the court of France were now perfected; and a peace was concluded January 15, by which the duke engaged to renounce his alliance with England, to send home the English army now in his coun-

A.D. 1381.
English
army re-
turns from
Brittany.

¹⁵ Walsing. p. 240. 244. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 276—279.

¹⁶ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 358—363.

A.D. 1381.

try, and to hold his duchy of the crown of France. Nothing could equal the surprise of the earl of Buckingham when he heard of this treaty. But as there was no remedy, he embarked his army and returned to England, having endured great fatigues, and expended great sums of money¹⁷.

State of
the com-
mon peo-
ple.

The poll-tax imposed by the last parliament excited the most violent commotions in England. That numerous and useful class of men who were in those times called *Villains*, and were little better than the slaves and property of their lordly masters, had of late years born the yoke with great impatience. This yoke was rendered more galling by the frequent taxes lately imposed by parliament, particularly by the poll-tax, which fell very heavy on the poorer sort of people, and was made more grievous by the severity with which it was collected. In a word, the minds of the common people all over England were so exasperated by the various oppressions under which they laboured, that they were ready to engage in any desperate attempt¹⁸.

Insurrec-
tion of the
common
people.

A small spark set fire to this train, and excited a prodigious flame. A quarrel arising between one of the poll-tax gatherers and a tyler in Deptford, named Walter, the tyler beat out the brains of the tax-gatherer with his hammer¹⁹. His neighbours applauded the action, and promised to protect him from punishment. In a little time

¹⁷ Walsing. p. 242, 243. Froissart, l. 2. c. 65.

¹⁸ Knyghton, col. 2633.

¹⁹ Id. *ibid*.

several

several hundreds were gathered together, who were every moment alarmed and enraged by flying reports of the dreadful vengeance which the government threatened to take for the death of the tax-gatherer. The insurgents sent messengers into the neighbouring counties on both sides of the Thames, commanding the common people to join with them in shaking off the yoke of servitude, and taking vengeance on their oppressors. These commands were too well obeyed. The commons every where abandoned their employments, and flew to arms. From all parts they directed their march toward London, burning the houses, and plundering the estates of the nobility and gentry in their route. The rage of this dangerous multitude was much inflamed by the declamations of one John Ball, a seditious preacher, whom they had released out of Maidstone gaol. This turbulent monk, who had been long remarkable for courting low popularity, held forth with great vehemence to the rioters on the natural equality of mankind, which he exhorted them to restore, by murdering all the nobility, gentry, lawyers, and superior clergy, and dividing the world amongst themselves²⁰. The insurgents of Kent, Essex, and the neighbouring counties, came to a general rendezvous on Blackheath, Wednesday June 12, when they are said to have amounted to 100,000 men, under their two leaders Wat Tyler and Jack Straw.

²⁰ Walsing. p. 275. Froissart, l. 2. c. 72. Knyghton, col. 2633, 2634.

A.D. 1381.

The progress
of the in-
surrection.

The progress of this insurrection was so rapid, and the consternation it occasioned so great, that no measures were taken by the government for its suppression. The king's three uncles, who had the chief direction of affairs, were all absent; the duke of Lancaster in Scotland, negotiating a truce with that kingdom; the earl of Cambridge gone with some troops to the assistance of the king of Portugal, against the king of Castile; and the earl of Buckingham at his estate in Wales²¹. The young king, in this extremity, took shelter with his mother and a few of his counsellors, in the tower of London.

The insur-
gents send
a message
to the
king.

Among other acts of violence which the insurgents committed in their way to London, they seized several knights and gentlemen, whom they obliged to accompany them; and from Blackheath they sent one of these knights to the tower of London, with a message to the king, inviting him to come and speak with them concerning the government of the kingdom, which they said was ill conducted by his uncles, by the archbishop of Canterbury, and others²².

The king's
answer.

After some time spent in deliberation, the king returned this answer by their own messenger: "That if they would approach the river Thames, he would speak with them next morning, being Thursday June 13." Agreeable to this message, the king went on board his barge early in the morning, with the earls of Salisbury, Warwick,

²¹ Froissart, t. 2, c. 75.

²² Id. *ibid*.

and

and some other noblemen, and steered towards Redriff, where about 10,000 of the insurgents attended on the banks. As soon as they beheld the royal barge approaching, they set up such horrible cries (says Froissart), as if all the devils in hell had been in their company. The noblemen who were with the king dissuaded him from exposing his person to the will of such an enraged rabble; upon which he put back, and returned to the tower ²³.

A.D. 1381.

It is impossible to describe the fury of the rioters on this disappointment. As soon as it was communicated to the main body on Blackheath, they immediately set out for London, destroying every thing in their way. In Southwark they did much mischief, burning houses, and beheading all gentlemen who were so unhappy as to fall into their hands. The gate on London bridge, which had been shut, being opened by the mob within, they rushed in, and spread over all the city, filling every place with consternation. They burnt the noble palace of the Savoyé, with all its rich furniture, belonging to the duke of Lancaster, the chief object of their malice. The temple, with all its valuable records, shared the same fate. They cut off the heads of all the Flemings and Lombards they could find; and would have done much more mischief, if the greatest part of them had not been overcome with liquor, and sunk into repose ²⁴.

The insurgents enter London.

²³ Froissart, t. 2. c. 76.

²⁴ Id. *ibid.* Walsing. p. 249. Knyghton, col. 2635.

A.D. 1381.

Council
held in the
tower.

In the night which succeeded this fatal day, a council was held in the tower; in which the intrepid W. Walworth, lord mayor of London, proposed to rush out upon the rioters, now buried in sleep and wine, and put them to the sword. But this measure appearing too dangerous to the other counsellors, it was resolved, that the king should endeavour to prevail upon them to separate, and return home, by fair words, and by granting all their demands²⁵.

The insur-
gents mur-
der several
great men.

Next morning, June 14, the king sent a message to the insurgents, who appeared in great multitudes on Tower-hill, and demanded an audience, "That if they would peaceably retire to Mile-end, he would meet them, and hear their demands." The great body of the rioters complied with this message; and the king, with a few attendants, all unarmed, leaving the tower, proceeded to that place. Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, with a multitude of their most furious followers, rushed into the tower as soon as the king left it, seized Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, and sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and immediately cut off their heads, with those of some other persons of inferior note²⁶.

The king
meets the
insurgents.

In the mean time the king reached Mile-end, where he found an immense multitude, computed to be 60,000; to whom he addressed himself in the mildest and kindest language, asking them

²⁵ Froissart, t. 2. c. 76.

²⁶ Id. *ibid.* Walling. p. 251. Knyghton, col. 2635.

what

what they wanted, and promising to grant them whatever they desired. They demanded that they, their lands, possessions, and posterity, might be free; and that there might be no slaves or servitude in England for ever. The king, with the greatest frankness, promised to grant them the most ample charters of freedom, under the great seal, with a pardon for all that was past, provided they would retire peaceably to their own homes. The people joyfully accepted these offers; and about thirty expert clerks being set to work to write these charters, which consisted only of a few lines, they were sealed, and delivered to all who demanded them, who thereupon returned home, happy in the success of their expedition²⁷.

A.D. 1381.

While the insurgents from Essex and Hertfordshire were thus dispersing, those of Kent were still carrying on their ravages in and about London, under the direction of their leader Wat Tyler, who had formed the most diabolical designs. These designs were to seize the king, to murder all the nobility, to plunder and then to burn the city of London. But providence would not permit such hellish purposes to be crowned with success; for on Saturday June 15, as the king was passing through Smithfield, with about sixty horsemen in his train, he met Wat Tyler at the head of twenty thousand of his followers. As soon as Tyler saw the king, he put spurs to his horse, and pressed into the royal presence, where he behaved in the

Wat Tyler
killed.²⁷ Brady, vol 2. Append. No. 103. Walsing. p. 254.

A.D. 1381. most clownish and audacious manner, and made the most senseless and extravagant demands²⁸. The generous Walworth, lord mayor of London, who was in the king's company, not able to bear the insolence of this audacious clown, drew his sword, and with one blow felled him from his horse to the ground, where he was instantly dispatched²⁹.

The king's
presence
of mind.

This bold action might have been fatal to the king, and all his company, if the rioters had been allowed time to recover from their surprise. But while they were standing motionless with astonishment at the unexpected fall of their leader, the young king, with a presence of mind which seemed to be inspired from Heaven, rode up to them, and said, "My lieges, be not concerned for the loss of your unworthy leader; I am your king, I will be your leader, follow me into the fields, and I will grant you whatever you can desire." The king, riding gently on towards the open fields, the multitude followed him, hardly knowing what they did, and still less what they designed to do³⁰.

Insurgents
dispersed.

In the mean time, a cry arose in the city, that the insurgents had the king in their hands, and designed to murder him. Great multitudes flew to arms to rescue their sovereign, or revenge his death; and the lord mayor, in a short time, collected some thousands of brave men, well armed, under the command of sir Robert Knolles and others. He conducted them into the fields, where the king was communing with the rioters. As

²⁸ Knyghton, p. 2636.

²⁹ Walsing. p. 253. Froissart, l. 2. c. 77. ³⁰ Walsing. p. 253.

soon

soon as these wretches beheld the men at arms, they were seized with a panic, fell upon their knees, and implored the king's mercy; which that prince, with equal wisdom and goodness, granted them, on condition that they immediately dispersed and returned home³¹. A.D. 1381.

While these surprising scenes were acting in London, commotions of the same kind were raised by the people in many other parts of England. At St. Alban's, a prodigious mob, under the command of William Gryndicobbe and William Cadyndon a chandler, cut off the heads of several gentlemen; and, by threatening to do the same to the abbot and all his monks, they extorted from them charters of freedom and manumission³². At St. Edmundsbury, a like mob, under one Robert Westbroom, did incredible mischief, and beheaded sir John Cavendish chief justice of England, and several other gentlemen³³. In Norfolk, an immense multitude of rustics had got together, under the command of John Littister, a dyer in Norwich, who assumed the title of *King of the Commons*. They carried some lords and gentlemen through the country with them, to countenance their proceedings, which were as cruel and destructive as those of the other rioters³⁴. But all these insurrections were happily of very short continuance. The Norfolk insurgents were defeated and dispersed by Henry Spencer, the mar-

Insurrec-
tions in
other
places.

³¹ Froissart, l. 2. c. 77.

³³ Id. p. 261.

³² Walsing. p. 254, 255, 256, 257.

³⁴ Id. p. 263.

A.D. 1381.

The king
raises an
army, and
revokes the
charters.

tial bishop of Norwich³⁵. Those of St. Alban's, St. Edmundsbury, and other places, having heard of the death of Wat Tyler, and the dispersion of his followers at London, separated, and retired to their own homes; so that in a very few days this dreadful storm was succeeded by a profound calm³⁶.

As soon as the insurgents were every where dispersed, the king summoned all the military tenants of the crown to appear immediately at London, with horses and arms. This summons was so well obeyed, that in a few days a gallant army of 40,000 horsemen appeared at the rendezvous on Blackheath. As soon as the king found himself supported by so great a power, he issued a proclamation, June 30, commanding all tenants in villainage to perform their usual services to their lords³⁷. In a few days he proceeded a step further; and at Chelmsford, July 2, published letters-patent, revoking all the charters of freedom which had been lately granted to the common people of Essex, and some other places³⁸.

Insurgents
tried and
executed.

The kingdom being now restored to a state of perfect tranquillity, commissions were granted to certain judges to go into the different counties, for the trial of the most criminal of the rioters. These commissions were executed with so much severity, especially by sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice of the king's bench, that about fifteen

³⁵ Walsing. p. 264.³⁶ Froissart, l. 2. c. 77.³⁷ Rymer, t. 7. p. 315, 316.³⁸ Id. ibid. p. 217, 218.

hundred unhappy wretches were condemned and executed as traitors³⁹. A.D. 1381.

The duke of Lancaster had resided in Scotland during the late commotions, and concluded a truce with that kingdom from July 18, 1381, to February 2, 1384⁴⁰. Truce with Scotland.

In his return from Scotland, the governor of Berwick, by directions from the earl of Northumberland, refused him admittance into that town; which created a most violent quarrel between the duke and that brave and potent earl. A parliament being summoned to meet at Westminster on Monday November 4, both these great peers came to it, attended by their numerous followers in arms, which for some days interrupted all public business. But the king and lords having at length reconciled these powerful adversaries, the parliament proceeded in its deliberations on Saturday November 9⁴¹. Quarrel between the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Northumberland.

This parliament declared, that the late charters of liberty and manumission, granted to many villains and bond tenants by the king, were null and void. But though they reduced so great a multitude of their fellow-subjects to a state of servitude, they were not willing to impose any further burden upon them at this time, and refused to grant any supply. But the king, with equal obstinacy, refusing to grant a general pardon, which was thought necessary for quieting the minds of the people Parliament.

³⁹ Froissart, t. 2. c. 79.

⁴⁰ Rymer, vol. 7. p. 312.

⁴¹ Froissart, t. 2. c. 80.

after

A.D. 1381. after the late commotions, the parliament yielded, and granted a subsidy on wool, wool-fells, and leather⁴². After this the general pardon was published, and the parliament was prorogued on December 13, to January 24, to make way for a solemnity of another nature.

A.D. 1382. The king being now in the sixteenth year of his age, a treaty of marriage was concluded between him and the princess Anne, daughter of the late emperor Charles IV. and sister to the present emperor Wenceslaus king of Bohemia; and the princess arriving in England, the marriage was solemnized in the beginning of this year⁴³.

Parliament. When the parliament reassembled January 24, the duke of Lancaster, titular king of Castile and Leon, made a proposal to carry an army into Spain, to the assistance of the king of Portugal, and to obtain possession of those two kingdoms, if he might be allowed 60,000 l. for the pay of that army. This proposal occasioned warm debates, and the duke was not able to carry his point at this time. The commons however were prevailed upon to continue the high duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for four years after Midsummer next⁴⁴.

Unpopular conduct of the young king. The brave and prudent part which the young king had acted during the late dangerous insurrections, had filled the minds of his subjects with the most sanguine expectations of a glorious reign.

⁴² Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 363—368.

⁴³ Walsing. p. 281.

⁴⁴ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 368—370.

But

But these expectations were not answered; and this prince did not long persist in this honourable course. His education had been shamefully neglected by his ambitious uncles, who were too keenly engaged in pursuing their own designs to be at any pains in forming the mind and manners of their royal pupil. They left him in the hands of young persons of dissolute characters, who corrupted his mind with flattery, and inspired him with the love of pomp and pleasure; so that he soon became vain, voluptuous, and extravagant, to a very great degree. One of the first unpopular acts of Richard's government, which gave his subjects an unfavourable impression of his character, was his taking the great seal from Henry le Scroop, to whom it had been committed with the approbation of parliament, because he refused to seal certain extravagant grants of land made to some retainers about court, who had by no means merited such rewards. The young king, incensed at this opposition to his will, took the seal into his own hands, put it to these grants, and then delivered it to Robert Braybrooke bishop of London⁴⁵.

A.D. 1382.

A parliament met at Westminster, Monday October 6, and after some time spent in deliberation, granted the king a fifteenth and a tenth for defraying the expences of the war with France, and the other enemies of the kingdom⁴⁶.

Parliament.

The bishop of Hereford then laid before the parliament, for their advice, two schemes for pro-

Schemes for prosecuting the war.

⁴⁵ Walsing. p. 290. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 362.

⁴⁶ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 371.

securitg

A.D. 1382

secuting the war. The first was, by sending the duke of Lancaster into Spain with an army of 2000 men at arms, and archers, for whose pay he now demanded only 43,000*l*. The other scheme was, to assist the people of Flanders, who were then at war with their own sovereign, who was supported by France. The house of lords, after a solemn debate, declared it to be their opinion, that the army proposed by the duke was too small to perform any effectual service; and the house of commons discovered a still greater dislike to the duke's proposal. The whole parliament seemed rather to favour the second scheme, of an union with the Flemings⁴⁷.

Proposal
of the
bishop of
Norwich.

This was partly owing to a proposal which was at this time made by the bishop of Norwich, who had distinguished himself so much by suppressing the late insurrections in his diocese. This martial prelate offered to raise an army of 3000 men at arms, and 3000 archers, to transport them to Calais, and, in conjunction with the Flemings, to serve one year against France, on condition of receiving the subsidies granted in the last parliament, both by the clergy and laity⁴⁸. But while the English were deliberating, the French were acting; and having obtained a victory over the Flemings at Comines, and another at Rosebecque, they reduced all Flanders except Gand, which was besieged⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ Parliament. Hist. vol. i. p. 371, 372.

⁴⁸ Walsing. p. 291.

⁴⁹ Froissart, t. 2. ch. 125, 126.

This

This rapid progress of the French arms, with their threatening to besiege Calais, raised a great alarm in England, and occasioned the meeting of a parliament on Monday February 23. The bishop of London, lord chancellor, told the parliament, that the design of calling them was to have their advice, whether the king should go into Flanders in person, with a royal army, to the relief of Gand, or what other method should be taken to prosecute the war⁵⁰. The parliament, after deliberating some days, gave it as their advice, that since the truce with Scotland was near expiring, and the Scots seemed to be disposed to renew hostilities, it was not proper that either the king, or any of his uncles, should leave the kingdom; but they advised him rather to accept of the proposal of the bishop of Norwich, for relieving Gand, and carrying on the war with France⁵¹.

A.D. 1383.

Parliament.

In consequence of this parliamentary advice, an agreement was made with the bishop, who sailed with the best part of his troops to Calais in May⁵². This ecclesiastical general was not acting on this occasion so much out of character as may appear at first sight. He found means to bring religion into the quarrel; and was not only general for the king of England against the king of France, but leader of a crusade for pope Urban VI. who resided at Rome, and was acknowledged by the English, against pope Clement VII. who resided

Expedition of the bishop of Norwich.

⁵⁰ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 373. ⁵¹ Id. Ibid. p. 374.

⁵² Rymer, vol. 7. p. 385. 406. Walsing. p. 298.

A.D. 1383. at Avignon, and was received by the French, Castilians, and Scots⁵³. This last character was of great advantage to the bishop, and enabled him both to raise and pay his army. The military men flew to his standard to gain the pardon of their sins, which was promised to all who engaged in this pious enterprise; and the good ladies of England, thinking that the old gentleman at Rome had a much better right to keep the keys of the kingdom of heaven than his antagonist at Avignon, contributed very liberally both in money and jewels to the expences of the expedition⁵⁴.

Progress
of the
bishop of
Norwich.

The bishop having spent some days at Calais in refreshing his men, took the field, and was very successful in his first military operations. He took Gravelines by assault; and having defeated an army of 30,000 French and Flemings near Dunkirk, he made himself master of that place. He then gained the towns of Burburgh, Cassel, Dixmude, Furnes, Newport, and Popering, with some others, and besieged Ypres. But this place put a stop to his career: being strongly fortified, and bravely defended, it resisted all his assaults; and his army, hearing of the approach of the king of France, decamped with great precipitation, without his consent. One part of the English army marched to Burburgh, under sir Thomas Trivet and others, and the other part of it retired, with the bishop, to Gravelines. The French army invested Burburgh, and obliged the English

⁵³ Walsing. p. 291.

⁵⁴ Knyghton, p. 2671. Walsing. p. 297.

to surrender the place, on condition of being allowed to march, with their arms, horses, and baggage, to Calais ⁵⁵. The French then sat down before Gravelines, where, apprehending a stout resistance, they offered the bishop 15,000 marks, with liberty to demolish the town, and to retire with his army where he pleased. The bishop, after waiting some time for succours from England, accepted these terms, and, having demolished Gravelines, returned home with the shattered remains of his army ⁵⁶. Thus ended this famous expedition of this martial bishop, in which he did not betray any want of military skill or courage.

A.D. 1383.

Soon after the bishop's return, a parliament met, October 26, to deliberate concerning a peace with Scotland, and the means of prosecuting the war with France and Castile ⁵⁷. The Scots had engaged to send commissioners to this parliament to negotiate a peace; but, at the instigation of France, they neglected to do this till it was too late ⁵⁸. The parliament granted the king two half-fifteenths for defraying the expences of the war ⁵⁹.

Parliament.

The bishop of Norwich was arraigned before this assembly, by the king's ministers, for the miscarriage of his expedition; and though he defended himself with great spirit, yet, finding the

Bishop of Norwich accused.

⁵⁵ Froissart, l. 2. c. 142. 145. Walsing. p. 298—303.

⁵⁶ Walsing. p. 305.

⁵⁷ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 378.

⁵⁸ Walsing. p. 307.

⁵⁹ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 379.

A.D. 1383. torrent too strong to be resisted, he cast himself on the king's mercy, and was for some time deprived of his temporalities⁶⁰.

A.D. 1384.
Truce
with
France
and
Scotland.

About this time overtures for a peace between England and France were made by the duke of Brittany; and the duke of Lancaster going over to Calais, entered into a negotiation on that subject with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, uncles to the king of France. But the French insisting on the restitution of Calais, Cherburg, and Brest, these negotiations produced only a truce from January 26, to Michaelmas, in which the Scots were to be included, if they pleased⁶¹. The Scots meditating an incursion into England, did not immediately accept of the truce; and the duke of Lancaster, after his return from Calais, made an expedition into Scotland, where he plundered and burnt some places; which the Scots soon after retaliated, and then acceded to the truce⁶².

Confu-
sions in
London.

The city of London was about this time a scene of great confusion, and of frequent tumults, occasioned chiefly by John Northampton the late mayor, a creature of the duke of Lancaster's. But one John Constantin being condemned and executed, and Northampton imprisoned, the tranquillity of the city was restored⁶³.

Duke of
Lancaster
accused.

An affair of a very dark and mysterious nature was transacted at a parliament which met at Salis-

⁶⁰ Cotton's Abridgment, p. 192.

⁶¹ Rymer, t. 7. p. 419—423. Froissart, l. 2. c. 147.

⁶² Id. *ibid.* c. 148, 149, 150.

⁶³ Walsing. p. 108.

bury,

bury, April 25. An Irish Carmelite friar accused the duke of Lancaster, before the king and council, of having formed a plot to murder the king and usurp the crown. The duke, just then returned from his expedition into Scotland, denied the charge with great vehemence, and insisted that his accuser should be confined until he had made good his accusation. The friar was accordingly committed to the custody of sir John Holland; but he was found dead in his chamber, on the night before the day appointed for his appearance in council. The enemies of the duke gave out, that the poor friar had been murdered; and the duke's friends asserted, that he had killed himself⁶⁴. At this distance of time it is impossible to discover which of these assertions was most agreeable to truth. This parliament at Salisbury granted the king one half-fifteenth⁶⁵.

A.D. 1384.

Though the duke of Lancaster was very unpopular, and generally suspected of the most ambitious and criminal designs, his power, wealth, and influence, were so great, that he still had the chief direction of public affairs. He went into France in August, with a grand retinue, to renew the negotiations for a peace; but after spending 50,000 marks, he obtained only a truce till May 1, A. D. 1385⁶⁶.

Truce
with
France.

The king's ministers took the opportunity of the duke's absence to bring his great partisan John

Late
mayor of
London
tried.⁶⁴ Walsing. p. 309.⁶⁵ Id. p. 310.⁶⁶ Rymer, vol. 7. p. 438—447. Walsing. p. 310.

A.D. 1384. Northampton to his trial: and he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, a hundred miles from London, and his estate confiscated⁶⁷.

Intention
to bring
the duke
of Lan-
caster to
trial,

Encouraged by this success, the ministry formed the bold design of bringing the duke himself to a trial for treason, before sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice of the king's bench: a design equally imprudent and illegal. The duke, informed of their intention, retired to his castle of Pontefract, and every thing seemed to threaten a civil war; when the princess of Wales interposed, and with much difficulty patched up a kind of reconciliation between the duke and the king her son⁶⁸.

Parlia-
ment.

A parliament met at Westminster, November 12, and granted the king two fifteenths to enable him to prosecute the war with France, Castile, and Scotland, at the expiration of the truce⁶⁹.

A.D. 1385.
Richard's
expedition
into Scot-
land.

The French, resolving to remove the seat of the war out of their own country, sent John de Vienne, admiral of France, with a fleet, a body of troops, and a large sum of money, to engage the Scots to invade the north of England; while a prodigious fleet and army were preparing in France for an invasion of it in the south⁷⁰. The Scots, ever ready to listen to such proposals, made an incursion into Northumberland, burning and plundering the country. The king, resolving to march in person against the Scots, summoned all the

⁶⁷ Walsing. p. 310.

⁶⁸ Id. p. 314.

⁶⁹ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 389.

⁷⁰ Walsing. p. 316. Froissart, l. 2. c. 256.

military tenants of the crown, and, in August, entered Scotland at the head of thirty thousand horse, besides foot. The Scots, unable to meet this army in the field, retired northward, carrying with them their cattle, and most valuable effects; and the English, meeting with no opposition, burnt Edinburgh and some other towns, and desolated the open country. But while they were thus employed, an army of Scots had entered the west marches, and were acting the same destructive part; which obliged the English to evacuate Scotland, and return, about the middle of September, to the defence of their own country⁷¹. If the other part of the scheme had been as well executed, England would have been exposed to much danger; but so much time was spent in collecting ships for transporting the troops to the English coast, that it was not till September that a fleet of 1200 sail rendezvoused in the harbour of Sluys. Here they were detained near two months by contrary winds; so that it was at length resolved to delay the expedition till next spring⁷².

A.D. 1385.

When the king entered Scotland with his army, he conferred new honours, and extravagant grants, on his two great favourites, Michael de la Poie, the chancellor, and Robert de Vere earl of Oxford; and his two uncles, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, were not ashamed at this time to share with these favourites in the spoils of the

Richard bestows honours on his favourites and his uncles.

⁷¹ Knyghton, col. 2742. Froissart, l. 2. c. 171, 172, 173.

⁷² Froissart, l. 3. c. 25.

A.D. 1385.

crown. The earl of Cambridge, lately returned from Portugal, was made duke of York, and the earl of Buckingham duke of Gloucester, with a grant of 1000*l.* a-year to each of them⁷³. Michael de la Pole was made earl of Suffolk, with a grant of 1000 marks a-year; and the earl of Oxford was made marquis of Dublin, and not long after duke of Ireland, with a grant of the whole kingdom of Ireland. All these new honours and grants were confirmed by a parliament, which met October 20, and gave the king a tenth and fifteenth, and half a tenth and fifteenth for prosecuting the war⁷⁴.

A.D. 1386.

Duke of
Lancaster's expe-
dition into
Spain.

So good an understanding subsisted at this time between the king's favourites and his uncles, that the duke of Lancaster was at length indulged in his darling design of conducting an English army into Spain, to assert his claim to the crowns of Castile and Leon; and one half of the supplies granted by the last parliament was given him for that purpose. The conjuncture was thought favourable for prosecuting this design. John, the present king of Castile, having married Beatrix, the only legitimate child of Ferdinand late king of Portugal, claimed that crown, and, in order to obtain it, besieged Lisbon. But the Portuguese, hating the Castilians, placed John, a natural brother of Ferdinand, on the throne; and under his conduct, raised the siege of Lisbon, and gained a

⁷³ Rymer, vol. 7. p. 481—484.

⁷⁴ Parliament, Hist. vol. 1. p. 387. Walsing. p. 320, 321.

great

great victory over the Castilians at Aljubarata ⁷⁵. A.D. 1386.
 The new king of Portugal, still dreading the superior power of his rival the king of Castile, entered into a strict alliance with the duke of Lancaster, engaging to assist him with his whole power in obtaining possession of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. The duke, encouraged by so powerful an ally, raised an army of 20,000 men; and taking with him his wife Constantia, heiress of Castile, and his daughters, Philippa, Elisabeth, and Catharine, sailed from Portsmouth in May; and having, in his passage, raised the siege of Brest, which was besieged by the duke of Brittany, he arrived at Corunna August 9 ⁷⁶. Here we shall leave him to persecute his claim, and return to the affairs of England.

The French, thinking this a proper season for invading England, when deprived of so great a number of her bravest sons, made prodigious preparations for that purpose. The army designed for this expedition, when reviewed at Arras, amounted to 63,000 men, and a fleet of 1200 ships was provided at Sluys for transporting this army ⁷⁷. These mighty preparations occasioned a great alarm in England, especially at London; but after the first consternation was over, and the military forces of the kingdom were properly stationed along the coasts, they waited with great tranquillity

French
invasion
threatened.

⁷⁵ Froissart, l. 3. c. 15.

⁷⁶ Id. ibid. c. 29. 31, 32.

Walsing. p. 321. Knyghton, col. 2677.

⁷⁷ Walsing. p. 325. Froissart, l. 3. c. 35.

A.D. 1586.

the arrival of the enemy. They never did arrive : for the season was so far advanced before the duke of Berry joined them with his followers, that it was resolved in a great council of war to delay the expedition till the next year⁷⁸. Thus ended all those prodigious preparations of the French for invading England, which for several months had engaged the attention of all Europe, and by the expences of which many of the French nobility were almost ruined.

Parliament.

While the kingdom was in daily expectation of this French invasion, a parliament was summoned to meet October 1, to provide for the support of the great number of troops employed in guarding the coasts⁷⁹.

Dissensions between the king and parliament.

It might have been imagined that the impending danger of so formidable an invasion would have rendered this great assembly hearty and unanimous in supporting government. But this was far from being the case. The house of commons, instead of granting the supplies, made bitter complaints against Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, lord chancellor, and insisted on his being immediately removed from his high office, and from the king's council. The king, to avoid granting this, retired to Eltham with his whole court ; and the parliament sent the duke of Gloucester (the chief mover of this prosecution against the ministers) and James Arundel bishop of Ely, to invite the

⁷⁸ Froissart, l. 3. c. 41, 42, 43, 44.

⁷⁹ Parliament Hist. vol. 2. p. 390. Cotton Abridg. p. 314.

king

king to return to his parliament; and to threaten, A.D. 1386.
 that if he did not comply, they would immediately
 dissolve, and leave the nation in its present dis-
 tracted state. The king, not complying at first,
 the parliamentary commissioners made a second
 speech in a much higher strain, putting him in
 mind of the deposition of Edward II. and plainly
 intimating that this would be his fate, if he did
 not return to his parliament ⁸⁰.

The king, intimidated by this threat, promised
 to come in three days, and give his parliament full
 satisfaction. He came accordingly, and in full
 parliament the bishop of Ely was made chancellor
 in the room of the earl of Suffolk, who had re-
 signed, the bishop of Hereford was made treasurer
 instead of the bishop of Durham, and John de
 Waltham was made keeper of the privy seal. The
 resignation of the earl of Suffolk did not appease
 the house of commons, who brought an impeach-
 ment against him before the lords, for high crimes
 and misdemeanours. Such as peruse the articles
 of this impeachment with candour, will probably
 be of opinion, that there was much of party-rage
 in this prosecution; and that the earl's greatest
 crime was, the too great share he had in the fa-
 vour and confidence of his royal master ⁸¹. He
 was found guilty, deprived of all he had received
 from the crown, except the title of *Earl of Suffolk*,
 and 20l. a-year out of the profits of that county,

Earl of
 Suffolk
 condemn-
 ed.

⁸⁰ Knyghton, col. 2680—2683.

⁸¹ Id. col. 2684, 2685. Parl. Hist. vol. I. p. 397—399.

and

A.D. 1136.

Council
of regency
appointed.

and committed to the custody of his mortal enemy the duke of Gloucester.

The parliament did not think fit to prosecute any other of the king's ministers at this time; but they obliged himself to sign a commission to certain lords, eleven in number, with the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, which divested him of all authority, and entirely changed the English constitution for a season⁸². After all these transactions, this famous parliament granted the king a half tenth and fifteenth, three shillings on every ton of wine, and one shilling in the pound on all merchandize, for the defence of the nation.

Proceed-
ings of the
duke of
Lancaster
in Spain.

The duke of Lancaster, after landing at Corunna, made an unsuccessful attack on the castle of that place; but he was more fortunate in his attempts on St. Jago de Campostella, Padrone, and some other towns of Galicia, which submitted. After the campaign was over, he had an interview, with the king of Portugal at Porto, where a marriage was solemnized between that king and the princess Philippa, the duke's daughter by Blanche of Lancaster, his first wife. At this interview, these two princes settled the plan of their operations for the next campaign, against their common enemy John king of Castile⁸³.

A.D. 1187.

Proceed-
ings of the

As soon as the king had signed the above commission, investing the eleven commissioners, toge-

⁸² Knyghton, vol. 2686—2692. Parl. Hist. vol. 1. p. 401—404.

⁸³ Froissart, l. 3. c. 37, 38, 39.

ther

ther with the new chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, with an almost unlimited authority, he found that he possessed no more than the empty name of king. His person was neglected, his court deserted, and all applications made to the duke of Gloucester, and the other commissioners, who were all, except the archbishop of York, zealous partisans of the duke. This neglect and solitude was very disagreeable to a young prince, fond of power, but still more fond of pomp; and there is no reason to doubt, that he entertained a very lively resentment against his two uncles, the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the lords of their party, who had reduced him to this state of insignificance. He was still attended by a few persons, who were the chief objects of his affection, and were resolved to share his fortunes. The chief of these were Robert de Vere, lately created duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, who had escaped out of his prison at Windsor, Alexander Nevel, archbishop of York, sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice of the king's bench, sir Nicholas Brembre, late mayor of London, sir Simon de Burley, constable of Dover castle, and some others of inferior note. The king held frequent consultations with these confidants about the means of emancipating himself from his present state of subjection, and recovering his lost authority. In these consultations, it is not improbable, that some very rash and desperate proposals were made. But many designs are said to have been formed by the king and his ministers,

A.D. 1387.
king after
he had
signed the
commis-
sion of re-
gency.

A.D. 1387. so foolish as well as wicked, that it seems probable they were the political lies of the day, invented and propagated by his enemies, to inflame the popular hatred against him and his favourites. Sometimes it was reported, that the king and his ministers designed to seize the third part of every man's personal estate, or to impose a heavy tax on every man's head of 6s. 8d. At other times it was rumoured, that Richard intended to poison the duke of Gloucester at a city-feast, or to murder him in an ambuscade. One day it was given out, that the king was bringing over an army of Bohemians and Germans, and the next, an army of French, to cut the throats of all his enemies²⁴. These reports were circulated with great industry by the prevailing party, and rendered the unhappy Richard, and his few adherents, the objects of universal detestation.

Intended
invasion
from
France
prevented.

While this was the state of affairs in England, the French were preparing for an invasion. But when all things were in readiness, an event happened which entirely blasted the design. De Clifson constable of France, who was to command in this expedition, had lately paid a great sum of money for the ransom of John de Blois, pretender to the duchy of Brittany, who had been many years a prisoner in England. This raised the jealousy of the reigning duke of Brittany, who seized De Clifson when he was ready to embark, and threw

²⁴ Froissart, l. 3. c. 77, 78. Walsing. p. 324.

him

him into prison⁸⁵. In the mean time the earl of Arundel, admiral of England, put to sea with a gallant fleet; and falling in with a large fleet of French, Flemish, and Spanish merchantmen, escorted by some ships of war, on March 24, he obtained a complete victory, took a hundred and sixty sail, loaded chiefly with wine, and brought them into England⁸⁶.

A.D. 1387.

The duke of Lancaster, with his son-in-law the king of Portugal, took the field about the beginning of May, and made themselves masters of some places in the kingdom of Leon. But the king of Castile having received a reinforcement of French troops, appeared at the head of an army, and put a stop to their further progress. The heat of the climate was more destructive to the English army than their enemies; and two thirds of them are said to have died this summer of a contagious distemper. The duke himself was seized with the same distemper, and brought to the point of death. After his recovery, despairing of the conquest of Castile, he retired, with his family, and the shattered remains of his army, into Guienne⁸⁷.

Proceedings of the duke of Lancaster in Spain.

King Richard, to divert his chagrin, and perhaps with some other views, set out with a slender retinue, about the beginning of August, on a progress into the north. At Nottingham, on the 25th of that month, he held a council of his con-

Consultation at Nottingham.

⁸⁵ Froissart, l. 3. c. 75, 76.

⁸⁶ Walsing. p. 396. Knyghton, col. 2692.

⁸⁷ Froissart, l. 3. c. 87, 88, 89. 91, 92. 94.

A.D. 1187. fidents, consisting of the archbishops of York and Dublin, the bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Bangor, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and a few others. At this council certain questions were proposed to the judges, who attended for that purpose, concerning the illegality of the late famous commission. To these questions the judges returned answers in writing, under their seals, declaring the commission illegal; and that all who advised, promoted, and acted under it, were guilty of treason, and ought to be punished as traitors⁸⁸.

The king
returns to
London.

This transaction did not long remain a secret; for the very next day Roger Fulthorp, one of the justices of the common pleas, communicated it to the earl of Kent, and it soon reached the ears of the duke of Gloucester, and the lords of his party, whom it so nearly concerned. Alarmed at this intelligence, the duke and his partisans determined to prevent their own destruction, by the ruin of their enemies about the king. With this view they sent private orders to their friends and followers to hold themselves in readiness to take arms at a moment's warning; and dispatched the archbishop of Canterbury to persuade the king to return to London, which, being entirely at their devotion, was the most proper place for executing their design. The archbishop succeeded in his embassy, and, without much difficulty, persuaded the king and his favourites (who do not seem to have had the least suspicion of what was designed against

⁸⁸ Knyghton, col. 2693. Parl. Hist. vol. 1. p. 407, &c.

them)

them) to return to London. The king, accompanied by his devoted ministers, entered that city on Monday November 10, and was received by the mayor, and a great multitude of citizens, on horseback, and conducted to his palace ⁸⁹.

A.D. 1387.

But the very next day the king received intelligence, that the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, were approaching, at the head of an army of 40,000 men ⁹⁰. He did not long remain ignorant of their intentions; for these lords, being arrived with their army at Haringay park, sent a letter to the lord mayor of London, on Wednesday the 13th, desiring, or rather commanding, him to make proclamation in the city, that their design in taking arms was to bring the traitors about the king's person, viz. the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian false justice, and Nicholas Brembre false knight, to justice ⁹¹. The next day the three lords were joined at Waltham-crofs by the earl of Derby and the earl marshal; and these five made a formal appeal, or accusation of high treason, against the five ministers above mentioned, before the prelates of Canterbury and Ely, who notified this appeal that same day to the king at Westminster ⁹².

Duke of Gloucester and his partisans take arms.

It was now high time for those five who saw their destruction was determined, to consult their own preservation. The duke of Ireland made his

Gloucester, &c. introduced to the king in Westminster-hall.

⁸⁹ Knyghton, col. 2696.⁹⁰ Id. col. 2699.⁹¹ Id. ibid. Brady Hist. vol. 2. p. 368.⁹² Knyghton, col. 2700.

escape

A.D. 1387. escape into the north, and the rest concealed themselves in different places. After this the lords appellants, as the duke of Gloucester] and the four earls were called, agreed to appear before the king in Westminster-hall, on Sunday the 17th, to make known their grievances and desires⁹³. On that day the lords entered the city with extreme caution, and pretended to be under the greatest apprehensions of being surpris'd and destroyed by their enemies. They spent so much time in searching York-house, the Mews, and other places, for ambushes, that the king waited two hours in Westminster-hall, seated on his throne, before they appeared. When they approached the throne, they fell upon their knees, and, with great professions of loyalty, declared, that in taking up arms they had no design against his royal person or authority, but only to bring the five traitors whom they had accused to punishment. The king, taking each of them by the hand, raised them from their knees, and assured them, that the persons appealed should be brought before the next parliament, which was to meet on February 3, to undergo their trial⁹⁴.

Duke of
Ireland
defeated.

In the mean time, the duke of Ireland was endeavouring to raise an army for his own defence, and the deliverance of his royal master; and, by the assistance of some gentlemen in Cheshire, he got together a body of 5000 men, with which he

⁹³ Knyghton, col. 2701. Walsing. p. 330.

⁹⁴ Id. p. 331. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 567.

begun

begun his march towards London, in hopes that his forces would increase as he advanced. But the confederated lords immediately put themselves at the head of their army, reinforced by a great body of Londoners, and marched northwards. The two armies met, December 20, at Radcot-bridge in Oxfordshire, where a battle was fought, in which the troops of the duke of Ireland were entirely routed, the duke escaping with great difficulty, by passing the river Isis on horseback, at the hazard of his life⁹⁵.

A.D. 1387.

The duke of Gloucester, with the lords of his party, marched back to London with their victorious army, and arrived at Clerkenwell December 26, where they were met by the lord mayor, who delivered to them the keys of the city. That same day they had a conference with the king in the tower, who being now wholly in their power, gave orders for committing to prison, or banishing from court, every person whom they thought fit to name. About fourteen lords, knights, and gentlemen, were committed on this occasion to different castles, to take their trials at the approaching parliament; two bishops, three lords, and three ladies, were banished from court; not so much as one person being left about the king for whom he had the least affection, or in whom he could place the smallest confidence⁹⁶.

The king's attendants imprisoned or banished.

On Monday February 3, that famous parliament, so much dreaded by the one party, and

A.D. 1388. Parliament.

⁹⁵ Knyghton, col. 2703.⁹⁶ Id. col. 2703, 2706.

A.D. 1388.

desired by the other, met at Westminster. The session was opened by a speech from the lord chancellor, the bishop of Ely, declaring the design of the meeting to be, "To consider by what means the troubles in the kingdom, for want of good government, might be ended, the king better advised, the realm better governed, misdemeanors more severely punished, good men better encouraged, the sea best kept, the marches of Scotland best defended, and Guienne preserved; and how the charges of all these things might be most easily borne." The five lords appellants then exhibited their accusation of high treason against Alexander archbishop of York, Robert de Vere duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole earl of Suffolk, sir Robert Tresilian, and sir Nicholas Brembre, digested into thirty-nine articles⁹⁷. These articles are very long, containing many general charges against the accused—of engrossing the royal favour—giving the king ill advice—obtaining grants for themselves and their friends from the crown, and the like. The famous opinion of the judges at Nottingham was not forgotten; every thing was much exaggerated, and expressed with the greatest acrimony. The accused being called several days, and not appearing, and the lords having taken some time to examine the articles, they, on Thursday 13th of February, condemned all the

⁹⁷ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 411.

⁹⁸ Brady Hist. vol. 2. p. 372—383. Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 414—427.

five to be executed as traitors, and their estates confiscated ⁹⁹. A.D. 1388.

The duke of Ireland had made his escape into Holland, where he died about four years after. The earl of Suffolk also got beyond seas, and died at Paris this same year ¹⁰⁰. The archbishop of York was taken at Shields; but his enemies not daring to execute one of his character, he was allowed to escape, and spent the short remainder of his days in Flanders, as curate of a small parish. Sir Robert Tresilian and sir Nicholas Brembre being taken, were executed, the one on the 19th, the other on the 20th of February ¹⁰¹. Destruction of the king's favourites.

To pay a compliment to the king, when they were thus destroying his most zealous friends, the prevailing party thought fit to have it declared in parliament, that nothing contained in the articles against the five condemned traitors should reflect any dishonour on the king, on account of his youth, and the innocence of his royal person ¹⁰². Compliment to the king.

On the first day of the parliament, Sir Robert Belknap, chief justice of the common pleas, sir Roger Fulthorp, sir John Holt, sir William Burgh, judges of the same court, sir John Carey, chief baron of the exchequer, and John Loketon, king's serjeant, had been taken out of the courts of Westminster-hall, and committed to the tower; and on Monday March 2, they were impeached by the commons of high treason, for putting Judges banished.

⁹⁹ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 424—427.

¹⁰⁰ Speed, p. 694.

¹⁰¹ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 431.

¹⁰² Id. ibid. p. 432.

A.D. 1388. their hands and seals to the famous questions and answers at Nottingham. The judges and sergeant pleaded in excuse, that they had been overawed and threatened by the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, and earl of Suffolk, to do what they had done. No regard was paid to this excuse; and on March 6, they were all condemned to be drawn and hanged as traitors, and their estates confiscated. But their lives were spared, at the intercession of the bishops; and they were sent into Ireland, and there confined to different towns for life¹⁰³.

Others
condemned
and
executed.

On Tuesday March 3, John Blake and Thomas Usk were impeached of high treason by the commons; the former for drawing up the questions proposed to the judges at Nottingham, and the latter for procuring himself to be made undersheriff of Middlesex, with a design to arrest the duke of Gloucester and other lords. They both pleaded, that they acted by the king's command. But, without any regard to this plea, they were condemned on March 4 to be drawn and hanged as traitors; and this sentence was executed upon them that same day¹⁰⁴.

Bishop of
Chichester
banished.

On Friday March 6, the bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor, was impeached of high treason by the commons, for being present when the questions were proposed to the judges at Nottingham, and for persuading and threatening them to

¹⁰³ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 432. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 591.

¹⁰⁴ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 434.

give their answers. He denied the last part of the charge with great solemnity, and declared, that the judges had acted on that occasion with perfect freedom. But notwithstanding this defence, he was condemned to the punishment of a traitor, his estate confiscated, and the temporalities of his see to be seized into the king's hands. But his life was spared on account of his office, and he was banished into Ireland ¹⁰⁵.

A.D. 1388.

The vindictive spirit of the duke of Gloucester and his party was not yet satisfied; for on March 12, sir Simon Burley, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, and sir James Berners, were all impeached of high treason; and a charge, consisting of sixteen articles, exhibited against them by the commons. The chief crimes alleged against them in these articles were, their being privy to the designs of the five persons first condemned by this parliament; their possessing too great a share in the favour and confidence of the king, and giving him ill advice. They all pleaded, Not guilty; and the holidays now approaching, the parliament adjourned on Friday March 20, to Monday April 14. This famous parliament was by this time become little better than a party confederacy, ready to gratify all the passions of the duke of Gloucester and the other lords; for on the day of the adjournment all the members of both houses took a solemn oath, to stand by Thomas duke of Gloucester, Henry earl of Derby,

More persons accused.

¹⁰⁵ Parliament. Hist. vol. i. p. 437.

A.D. 1388. Richard earl of Arundel and Surrey, Thomas earl of Warwick, and Thomas earl marshal, to maintain and support them with all their power, and to live and die with them against all men¹⁰⁶.

During the recess of parliament, great endeavours were used to save the lives of the four impeached knights, particularly of sir Simon Burley. This gentleman had been greatly esteemed by Edward III. and the Black Prince, by whom he had been appointed tutor to Richard. He was much beloved by the king, whom he had constantly attended from his infancy; and having conducted the queen into England, he stood high in her favour. This princess, who was commonly called *the good queen Anne*, fell on her knees before the duke of Gloucester, and with the most earnest importunity begged the life of Burley¹⁰⁷. But all in vain; the duke was inexorable; and Burley being brought into parliament on May 5, was found guilty of high treason, and beheaded that same day on Tower-hill. On the 12th May, the other three knights had the same sentence pronounced and executed upon them, Beauchamp and Berners being beheaded, and Salisbury hanged¹⁰⁸.

Grants.

The parliament had, in the intervals of these trials, found leisure to grant the king three shillings on every ton of wine imported, a shilling in the

¹⁰⁶ Brady Hist. vol. 2. Append. No. 106.

¹⁰⁷ Vita Richardi II. p. 102.

¹⁰⁸ Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 436.

pound on all merchandise, except wool, one half-tenth, and one half-fifteenth; and on June 2, they continued the high duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather¹⁰⁹. The duke of Gloucester, having taken this dreadful vengeance on his enemies, did not forget to reward himself and his friends; for he obtained a vote for 20,000*l.* to himself and the other lords appellants, out of the subsidy on wool; and then this parliament was dissolved June 4, after a session of four months, the longest that had ever been in England.

A.D. 1388.

The sentiments of the people of those times were much divided concerning the conduct of this famous parliament. The prevailing party called it "the parliament that wrought wonders;" but others gave it the appellation of "the parliament without mercy¹¹⁰." It cannot be denied, that this assembly declared many things to be high treason, and punished them as such, which bore no resemblance to that great offence; never reflecting, when inflamed with party-rage, that they were making precedents which might one day prove fatal to themselves, or their posterity.

Observation.

It was very happy for the English at this time, that the king of France was so much engaged in emancipating himself from the dominion of his uncles, that he could take no advantage of their civil dissensions. But the Scots made several incursions into the north of England in this spring

Battle of Otterburn.

¹⁰⁹ Rymer, vol. 7. p. 620. Cotton's Abridg. p. 332.¹¹⁰ Knyghton, col. 2701.

A.D. 1332.

and summer; and an army of them, commanded by the earl of Douglas, besieged Newcastle. Henry lord Percy, better known in history by the name of *Hotspur*, obliged the Scots to raise the siege; and following them to Otterburn, a bloody battle was there fought August 10, in which earl Douglas was slain on the one side, and on the other Hotspur and his brother Ralph Percy were taken prisoners; and both nations claimed the victory¹¹¹. The earl of Arundel, admiral of England, put to sea this summer with a gallant fleet, made some descents on the coast of France, and took a considerable number of ships¹¹².

Transac-
tions of
the duke
of Lan-
caster.

The duke of Lancaster spent this whole year in Guieane, where he was more successful in his political intrigues, than he had been the year before in his warlike enterprises. The duke of Berry, uncle to the king of France, paid his addresses to the princess Catharine, only child of the duke of Lancaster, and his wife Constance, heiress of Castile. The king of Castile was greatly alarmed at the news of this courtship, apprehending, that if this marriage took effect, it would produce a peace between France and England; and that these two powerful nations would unite in pulling him down from his throne, and placing the duke of Berry in his room. To prevent this danger, he caused very advantageous proposals to be made to the duke of Lancaster for a marriage between

¹¹¹ Knyghton, col. 2728, 2729. Froissart, l. 3. c. 123—129.

¹¹² Id. *ibid.* c. 116, 117. 133.

Catharine and his eldest son Henry prince of Castile. The duke, wisely considering that this was the most direct way of putting an end to all disputes about the crown of Castile, as well as of gaining great advantages to himself, accepted of these proposals; by which he was to receive 200,000 crowns for the expences of his expedition, together with an annuity of 10,000 florins to himself, and one of an equal sum to his wife Constance, during their respective lives ¹¹³.

A.D. 1388.

The kings of England and France being both heartily wearied of that war which had so long subsisted between the two nations, sent their plenipotentiaries to Lenlinghen, who concluded a truce till August 16, A. D. 1392; in which all the allies of both crowns were included ¹¹⁴.

A.D. 1389.
Truce with
France.

Though Richard had now submitted about a year to the dictates of the duke of Gloucester, who ruled every thing at his pleasure, he secretly resolved to throw off the yoke as soon as possible. In consequence of this resolution, when a very numerous council was assembled, May 3, the king entered, and, in a resolute tone, demanding to know, 'What age he was? It was answered, in his twenty-second year. Am I not then at age, replied he, to take the reins of government into my own hands, and no longer to remain under the management of tutors? The Gloucesterian party were struck dumb by this unexpected blow; and

Richard
assumes the
govern-
ment.

¹¹³ Froissart, l. 3. c. 138. 140. Walsing. p. 347. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 603.

¹¹⁴ Rymer, vol. 7. p. 623.

Richard,

A.D. 1389 Richard, proceeding with spirit, took the great seal from Arundel archbishop of York, and gave it to William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester; he turned out the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, and all who had been brought into office by them, and put others in their room¹¹⁵. Thus was this triumphant party divested in a moment of that authority which they had obtained with so much labour, and had endeavoured to secure by shedding so much blood.

Wife administration.

The first steps which Richard took after this total change in the administration were very prudent. He issued a proclamation, May 16, to inform all his subjects, that he had taken the government into his own hands; and that they might now expect to enjoy greater tranquillity than they had formerly done. Soon after he published a general pardon, and remitted the half-tenth and half-fifteenth which had been granted by the last parliament. These gentle measures so quieted the minds and gained the affections of the people, that the discarded party found it impossible to raise the least disturbance¹¹⁶.

Duke of Lancaster returns to England.

While things were in this situation, the duke of Lancaster returned into England in November, after an absence of more than three years¹¹⁷. Soon after his arrival, Richard held a great council of peers at Reading; where the duke of Glou-

¹¹⁵ Vita R. II. p. 108, Rymer, vol. 7. p. 616. 618. 620. Walsing. p. 337. Knyghton, col. 2734.

¹¹⁶ Rym. Foed. vol. 7. p. 620.

¹¹⁷ Walsing. p. 342.

cester,

cester, and the lords of his party, were brought to court by Lancaster, and seemingly, at least, reconciled to the king by his mediation ¹¹⁸.

A.D. 1389.

The flames of party which had raged with so much violence, being now a little smothered, a parliament met in great tranquillity, January 17, at Westminster ¹¹⁹. The bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, opened the session with a speech, in which he declared, that the king being now of full age, was determined to govern his subjects in peace and quiet, and to do justice to all, both of the clergy and laity. He put them also in mind, that the nation being surrounded with enemies, it would be necessary either to make peace or provide for war ¹²⁰. On the fourth day of the parliament, the lord chancellor delivered the great seal, and the bishop of St. David's the treasurer, delivered the keys of the exchequer, to the king before both houses; and all the other members of the council begged leave to resign their several offices, which was granted. After all these resignations, it was declared in full parliament, that if any one had any complaint to make against any of these persons, they might now do it with all freedom. It was answered by both lords and commons, "That they knew nothing amiss of any of them, and that they had behaved themselves well in their respective offices." After this honourable testimony in their favour, the king re-

A.D. 1390.
Parliament.

¹¹⁸ Walsing. p. 342.

¹¹⁹ Parliament. Hist. vol. i. p. 441.

¹²⁰ Id. *ibid*.

delivered

A.D. 1390. delivered the seal to the bishop of Winchester, and the keys of the exchequer to the bishop of St. David's, and restored all the rest to their former offices, at the same time admitting the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester into the council; but with this protestation, that he still had it in his power to retain or dismiss any of these counsellors at his pleasure ¹²¹.

Grants. The king's uncles had by this time paid their court so effectually to their royal nephew, that they obtained the most valuable favours from him in this parliament. The duke of Lancaster was created duke of Aquitaine for life, with a grant of all the revenues of that duchy. Edward, eldest son of the duke of York, was created earl of Rutland, with a grant of 800 marks a-year to support that dignity. The commons granted the king forty shillings on every sack of wool exported, and five marks on every last of leather, one third of which to supply the king's present occasions, and the remainder to be reserved as a fund in case of war ¹²².

Parliament.

In another parliament, which met November 12, this subsidy on wool, wool-fells, and leather, was continued for three years; and one half-tenth, and one half-fifteenth, were granted to defray the expences of the duke of Lancaster, and other plenipotentiaries, who were to be sent to Amiens to negotiate a peace with France ¹²³. In this parlia-

¹²¹ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 442.

¹²² Cotton Abridg. p. 332.

¹²³ Knyghton, col. 4739.

ment the king confirmed a grant which he had formerly made, to the dukes of York and Gloucester, of 1000*l.* a-year¹²⁴. To repair the breaches which had been made in the constitution during the late commotions, it was declared by this parliament, "That the present king should be as free, "and enjoy all the prerogatives that any of his "noble progenitors, formerly kings of England, "had enjoyed¹²⁵." Nay, so good an understanding subsisted at this time between the king and his people, that on the last day of this parliament both houses returned their humble thanks to the king, for his good government, and for the great affection and zeal he had continually shewn for the good of his people; and the king thanked them for their grants¹²⁶.

A.D. 1390.

Nothing happened during this whole year to disturb that happy tranquillity which England now enjoyed. A parliament which met November 3, at Westminster, granted the king ample supplies, and confirmed all his royal prerogatives by a statute¹²⁷.

A.D. 1391.
Parliament.

As the truce between England and France, and their allies on both sides, was to expire this year in August, great endeavours were used to bring about a peace before that time. For this purpose conferences were held at Amiens in the spring, which produced only a prolongation of the truce to Michaelmas A. D. 1393¹²⁸.

Truce.

¹²⁴ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 448.¹²⁵ Id. *ibid.*¹²⁶ Id. *ibid.*¹²⁷ Id. *ibid.*¹²⁸ Rymer. Fœd. t. 7. p. 722. Walsing. p. 347.

A.D. 1392.

Quarrel
between
the court
and city.

In the mean time, the city of London fell under the heavy displeasure of the court on account of some tumults, in one of which the populace assaulted the palace of the bishop of Salisbury, who was high treasurer. For these offences the mayor and sheriffs were imprisoned, and the city was deprived of its liberties. But the citizens having submitted to the king's pleasure, and implored his mercy, he entered the city in a kind of triumph, August 21, and was received with great demonstrations of respect and joy. Soon after this all their charters were restored and confirmed, at the intercession of the queen¹²⁹. But the king's severity seems to have made a deeper impression on the minds of the citizens than his mercy.

A.D. 1393.
Truce.

Conferences for a peace between France and England were held at Lenlinghen, in the spring of this year; and, with some interruptions, continued to May 27, A.D. 1394, when a truce for four years was concluded¹³⁰.

A.D. 1394.
Expedition
into Ire-
land.

A temporary peace being now established, Richard resolved upon an expedition into Ireland, to settle the affairs of that kingdom, as well as to divert his grief for the loss of his beloved consort, the good queen Anne, who died at Shene, on Whitfunday this year¹³¹. All the English who had estates in Ireland were commanded, by a proclamation, to be in that kingdom by

¹²⁹ Walsing. p. 348, &c.

¹³⁰ Rymer, Fœd. t. 7. p. 770.

¹³¹ Knyghton, col. 2741. Walsing. p. 350.

September 8¹³². Having provided a fleet and army, the king sailed from Milford-haven about Michaelmas, and soon after landed in Ireland, where he met with little opposition: for the Irish chieftains, finding themselves unable to make effectual resistance, came in and made their submissions; and Richard, who was naturally generous, received them kindly, and loaded them with presents. Having held a parliament, and spent the winter in Dublin, he returned into England in the spring A. D. 1395¹³³. A.D. 1394.

While the king was in Ireland, the duke of York, who had been appointed regent, called a parliament, which met at Westminster 28th January, and granted a tenth from the clergy, and a fifteenth from the laity, for defraying the expences of the Irish expedition. But to this grant the parliament annexed a protestation, "That it was not made *de jure*, but out of good will and affection to the king¹³⁴." A.D. 1395.
Parliament.

Richard, having been about a year a widower, resolved upon a second marriage, and sent a splendid embassy to the court of France, to demand the princess Isabella, eldest daughter of Charles VI. a child between seven and eight years of age¹³⁵. He was probably determined to this unequal match by the hopes of accelerating the peace between the two nations, and of procuring Embassy
to France.

¹³² Knyghton, col. 2741. Walsing. p. 350.

¹³³ Walsing. p. 351.

¹³⁴ Parliament, Hist. vol. i. p. 454.

¹³⁵ Rymer. Ford. t. 7. p. 802.

A.D. 1395. a powerful support against his uncles, particularly the duke of Gloucester, of whose factious spirit he was in continual dread.

A.D. 1396. The king's marriage. The English ambassadors at the court of France having settled all the articles of the intended marriage, the contract was confirmed by Charles VI. at Paris, March 9, A.D. 1396¹³⁶. At the same time and place, a prolongation of the truce between France and England, for twenty-five years, was ratified¹³⁷. As the king of England and the French princess were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, a dispensation from the pope was necessary; which retarded the marriage till November 1, when it was celebrated with great pomp in the church of St Nicholas, at Calais, by the archbishop of Canterbury¹³⁸.

A.D. 1397. Duke of Gloucester, &c. apprehended. Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the youngest of king Richard's three uncles, was a prince of a covetous, ambitious, proud, and turbulent disposition. Though he had received grants of immense value from his nephew, he was constantly engaged in factious machinations, to disturb his government. He had been at the head of that party which had extorted a commission to do what they pleased, A.D. 1386, and had made such a cruel use of their power, by destroying all the king's ministers, judges, and servants. He had opposed the French marriage and truce while they were in agitation, and exclaimed loudly against

¹³⁶ Rymer. Fœd. t. 7. p. 820.

¹³⁷ Id. ibid. p. 821, &c.

¹³⁸ Id. ibid. p. 846. Walsing. p. 353.

them

them after they were concluded. He seldom came to court, but to insult his sovereign, or to council, but to thwart his measures¹³⁹. He had several meetings in the spring and summer of this year with the principal prelates and nobles of his party; in which, it is said, the most daring designs were formed against the government, if not against the person of the king¹⁴⁰. Richard was not ignorant of his uncle's disaffection, and began to be under uneasy apprehensions about its consequences. These apprehensions were much increased by his two uterine brothers, the earls of Kent and Huntingdon, and by his other confidants, who earnestly intreated him to prevent his own destruction and that of all his friends, by seizing the duke of Gloucester, with the earls of Arundel and Warwick, his chief accomplices¹⁴¹. To this the king at length gave his consent. The duke of Gloucester was surprised at his castle of Pleshy in Essex, hurried on board a ship, and conveyed to Calais, as a place of the greatest security. The two earls were seized at the same time in London, and committed to prison¹⁴².

As soon as those great persons were in custody, a council was held at Nottingham, August 1, to consider in what manner they were to be prosecuted. At this council an appeal of treason was brought by six earls and two lords, against the duke of

A.D. 1397.

Council at
Notting-
ham,

¹³⁹ Fabian. Chronicle, vol. 2. p. 149. Froissart, v. 4. c. 86.

¹⁴⁰ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Rymer, vol. 8. p. 6, 7.

¹⁴² Walsing. p. 354. Froissart, l. 4. c. 90.

A.D. 1397. Gloucester, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, to which they were to answer at the next parliament, which was summoned to meet at Westminster September 17.

Parlia-
ment.

Great preparations were made for this famous parliament, which was to determine the fate of a prince of the blood, and of some of the most powerful nobles of the kingdom. A wooden building, of great extent, was erected near Westminster-hall, for the reception of so numerous an assembly¹⁴³. Six hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, were raised for a guard to the king; and all the lords came attended with such prodigious retinues, that they not only filled all the lodgings in London and its suburbs, but in all the towns and villages within ten or twelve miles around¹⁴⁴. In the second session, the clergy of both provinces appointed sir Thomas Percy their procurator in the intended trials, at which the canons of the church did not permit them to be present¹⁴⁵. In the same session, the commission of regency, in the tenth year of the king's reign, was declared to have been traiterously made; and all the pardons which had been granted to those who had acted under it were cancelled. Next day the commons impeached Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury of treason; and the day after he was found guilty, and banished the kingdom¹⁴⁶. In

¹⁴³ Stow's Chron. p. 315.

¹⁴⁴ Rymer. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 14. Holinshed, Chron. p. 490.

¹⁴⁵ Walsing. p. 354.

¹⁴⁶ *Id.* *ibid.*

the next session, the lords appellants gave in their articles of accusation against the earl of Arundel, which consisted of the several things he had done in procuring and executing the above commission. After a very short trial, he was condemned, carried directly from the bar to Tower-hill, and there beheaded, September 21¹⁴⁷. On the same day, a mandate was issued by the king and his council in parliament, to Thomas earl marshal, governor of Calais, to bring the duke of Gloucester to the bar of the house as soon as possible, to answer to the accusation that had been given in against him by the lords appellants¹⁴⁸. To this mandate the earl marshal returned this answer, September 24, "That he could not bring the said duke before the king and his council in that parliament; for that, being in his custody in the king's prison at Calais, he there died." The lords appellants and the house of commons then demanded, that the late duke of Gloucester should be declared to have been a traitor, and all his estates and honours forfeited; which was accordingly done¹⁴⁹. In the interval between the above mandate and the return, the earl of Warwick was tried, and found guilty of treason; but the king spared his life, and consigned him to perpetual confinement in the isle of Man¹⁵⁰. The four great objects of the king's displeasure being thus disposed of, the commons in-

A.D. 1397.

¹⁴⁷ Walsing. p. 354. 355.¹⁴⁸ Rymeri Fœd. t. 8. p. 15.¹⁴⁹ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 471.¹⁵⁰ Walsing. p. 355.

A.D. 1397. terceded for favour to the other prelates and lords who had been named in that famous commission, for which the four already tried had been condemned ¹⁵¹.

Duke of
Gloucester
mur-
dered.

The time, place, and other circumstances of the death of the duke of Gloucester, excited strong suspicions that he had been murdered; and these suspicions, it must be confessed, were highly probable. The king and his ministers, it was said, not daring to bring a prince so nearly related to the crown, and so exceedingly popular (particularly in London), to a public trial and execution, had employed assassins to murder him in prison: a policy equally weak and wicked, which justly brought much odium on the king and his confidential servants. The precise time and manner of Gloucester's death were never certainly known, and are differently related by different authors ¹⁵².

The king was so well pleased with this session of parliament, which had been perfectly subservient to his will, that on the last day of it (September 29), he advanced the earls of Derby, Rutland, Kent, Huntington, and Nottingham, to be dukes of Hereford, Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Norfolk; the earl of Somerset to be marquis of Dorset, the lords Dispenfer, Nevile, Percy, and Scrope, to be earls of Gloucester, Westmoreland, Worcester, and Wiltshire; and then adjourned the

¹⁵¹ Parliament, Hist. vol. 1. p. 478.

¹⁵² Froissart, t. 4. c. 90. p. 292. Walsing. p. 355.

parliament to the 27th January, to be then held at Shrewsbury ¹⁵³. A.D. 1397.

When the parliament met at Shrewsbury, proceeding in the same tract of submission to the royal pleasure, it reversed all the acts of that famous parliament, A. D. 1388, in which the duke of Gloucester's party had predominated, and had executed vengeance on all their opposers. The answers of the judges, for which they had been condemned as traitors, were now declared to be the answers of good and loyal subjects ¹⁵⁴. Several persons who had been of the duke of Gloucester's party were condemned and forfeited; but their lives were spared. The house of commons granted very liberal supplies; and still further to manifest their affection to the king, they petitioned the house of lords to contrive some method to secure the transactions of that parliament from such changes as had happened to those of former parliaments. After deliberating among themselves, and consulting with the judges, all the lords, spiritual and temporal, took a solemn oath on the cross of Canterbury, never to suffer any of the transactions of that parliament to be changed; while all the members of the house of commons held up their hands, to signify their taking the same oath. The king, to crown the whole, procured a bull from the pope, to confirm all the acts of that parliament, which he caused to be publicly read in all the chief cities

A.D. 1398.
Parliament at
Shrewsbury.

¹⁵³ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 479.

¹⁵⁴ Ruffhead's Statutes. vol 1. p. 419, 420.

A.D. 1398.

of the kingdom¹⁵⁵. But it soon appeared, that these were, feeble securities against the torrent of faction, which in those times ran, sometimes on one side and sometimes on another, with such violence, that it levelled every mound, and overwhelmed all that stood in its way.

Quarrel
between
the dukes
of Here-
ford and
Norfolk.

In the time of this parliament, a quarrel broke out between the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, which was attended with the most important and unexpected consequences. On the last day of January, and of the parliament, the duke of Hereford presented a schedule to the king, which he said contained an account of certain slanderous words which the duke of Norfolk had spoken to him of his majesty¹⁵⁶. This schedule being read, the lords and commons referred the determination of that affair to the king, and a committee of twelve lords and six commoners, which the two houses had that day chosen, and invested with parliamentary powers¹⁵⁷.

Dukes of
Hereford
and Nor-
folk ha-
nished.

After this famous parliament was dissolved, the king held several deliberations with the parliamentary commissioners, on the dispute between the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk. At length, when the one continued to deny what the other affirmed, it was resolved, that this controversy should be determined by the laws of chivalry, in a single combat between the contending parties; and that this combat should be fought at Coventry, September

¹⁵⁵ Walsingham, p. 356.¹⁵⁶ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 490.¹⁵⁷ Id. *ibid*.

16, before the king and the committee of parliament. But when the two noble combatants had entered the lists, and were ready to engage, the king interposed, and by the advice of the parliamentary commissioners, pronounced the following sentence: "That the duke of Hereford should be banished the kingdom for ten years, to depart on or before the 13th of October next;—that the duke of Norfolk should void the realm for term of life, and that he should be out of the kingdom by the 20th of October next¹⁵⁸." Both the dukes, before their departure, obtained letters-patent from the king, with consent of the committee of parliament, empowering them to constitute certain persons their attornies, for receiving in their name any inheritance that might fall to them during their exile¹⁵⁹. This transaction, sufficiently mysterious in itself, is strangely misrepresented by sir John Froissart, a contemporary historian, with a view to exculpate the duke of Hereford (afterwards Henry IV.), and to blacken the characters of the king and of the duke of Norfolk¹⁶⁰.

A.D. 1398.

The king, at the conclusion of the great parliament (as it was called), had granted a general indemnity to all his subjects, for all treasons, &c. of which they had been guilty; but none were to enjoy the benefit of this indemnity, who did not take

Discontents
against the
government.

¹⁵⁸ Walsing. p. 356. Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 494.

¹⁵⁹ Rymeri Fœd. t. 8. p. 49. 51.

¹⁶⁰ Froissart, t. 4. c. 92. p. 296.

A.D. 1398. out charters of pardon before St. John's day, A. D. 1398¹⁶¹. Many having neglected to do this, the courtiers, and particularly the parliamentary commissioners, extorted great sums of money from them; which occasioned much discontent with the king and his confidants¹⁶². These discontents were very much increased by the complaints of the families and friends of the late duke of Gloucester, and of the two banished dukes of Hereford and Norfolk; and the arbitrary proceedings of the committee of parliament, who made laws, and acted in all things as if they had been a full parliament, still further inflamed the minds of the people¹⁶³.

A.D. 1399.
Death of
the duke
of Lan-
caster.

When the nation was in this ferment, the famous John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster died, February 3, A. D. 1399¹⁶⁴. By this event, a prodigious accession of wealth and power fell to his only son Henry of Bolingbroke, the banished duke of Hereford, to the peaceable possession of which he ought to have been admitted by his attorney, according to the tenor of his letters-patent¹⁶⁵. But the king and committee of parliament, contrary to the plainest dictates of equity and prudence, on March 18, declared these letters null and void, and seized all the great estates of the late duke of Lancaster. This flagrant act of tyranny and op-

¹⁶¹ Parliament. Hist. p. 487.

¹⁶² T. Otterbourne, Chron. p. 199.

¹⁶³ Ruff head's Statutes, vol. 1. p. 422, &c.

¹⁶⁴ T. Otterbourne, p. 197.

¹⁶⁵ Rymer, Fœd, t. 8. p. 49. Walsing. p. 357.

pression excited universal indignation against the authors of it, and compassion for Henry now duke of Lancaster.

A.D. 1399.

The infatuated Richard, after he had excited such general discontent among his subjects, was so imprudent as to leave England, and to carry with him all the great men on whose attachment he could depend¹⁶⁶. Having collected great sums of money, by means which still further increased the disaffection of his people, and constituted his uncle the duke of York regent of the kingdom, he sailed from Milford-haven about the end of May, and soon after landed in Ireland with a powerful army¹⁶⁷. The design of this most unseasonable expedition was, to revenge the death of Roger Mortimer earl of March, the presumptive heir of his crown, and to reduce that kingdom to a more perfect subjection. But he was not allowed time to make any great progress in the execution of that design.

Expedition into Ireland.

Henry of Bolingbroke was at the court of France when he received intelligence of his father's death, and of the revocation of his letters-patent; and he soon after received invitations from his numerous and powerful friends in England, to come over and vindicate his rights to the estate of Lancaster¹⁶⁸. Encouraged by these invitations, and the news of Richard's expedition into Ireland, he resolved to return into England; and having obtained a few ships, and a small number of armed men, from the

Duke of Lancaster lands in England.

¹⁶⁶ Walsing. p. 557.
Rymeri Fœd. t. 8. p. 83.

¹⁶⁷ T. Otterbourne, Chron. p. 290.

¹⁶⁸ Froissart, tom. 4. ch. 105.

A.D. 1399. duke of Brittany, he put to sea, with the exiled archbishop of Canterbury and the young earl of Arundel in his company¹⁶⁹. After hovering some days on the coast, he landed at Ravenspore, in Yorkshire, July 4; and was joined by the powerful earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with the other barons of the north, and their followers¹⁷⁰. Seeing himself at the head of a great army, he marched southward, giving out, that he was come only to recover his inheritance of Lancaster; which brought such multitudes to his standard, that they soon amounted to sixty thousand men.

Agreement between the dukes of York and Lancaster.

The duke of York, regent of the kingdom, raised a considerable army, with which he marched towards Bristol, about which place it was expected the king would land from Ireland. By this means the armies approaching each other, a conference was held at Berkeley, on Sunday July 27, between the dukes of York and Lancaster, and a certain number of their friends. At this conference, the duke of Lancaster still pretending that he came only for the recovery of his inheritance, an agreement was soon made, and he was joined by the duke of York and the greatest part of his forces¹⁷¹.

Castle of Bristol surrendered.

The duke of Lancaster then marched at the head of the united armies, and invested the castle of Bristol, in which some of the most obnoxious of the king's confidants had taken shelter. Sir Peter Courtney governor of the castle, after some hesita-

¹⁶⁹ Froissart, to n. 4. ch. 106. Walsing. p. 358.

¹⁷⁰ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁷¹ T. Otterbourne, p. 205.

tion,

tion, agreed to surrender, at the command of the duke of York, as regent of the kingdom, having stipulated for the liberty of all the garrison, except the earl of Wiltshire, sir John Buffy, and sir Henry Grene, the hated ministers. These three unhappy persons being delivered to the duke of Lancaster, were immediately beheaded at his command, without any trial ¹⁷².

A.D. 1399.

About the beginning of August, king Richard landed at Milford-haven with his troops from Ireland, intending to join the duke of York, who he believed to be at the head of an army, raised in his name, to support his authority. But when he received intelligence that the regent and his forces had united with the duke of Lancaster, he disbanded his small army, and retired with a few faithful friends to Conway. Here it was debated in his little council, whether he should leave the kingdom, and take shelter in his French dominions, or open a negotiation with the duke of Lancaster, who had not yet declared his designs upon the crown. The last and most imprudent of these measures was adopted, and the duke of Exeter sent to propose the treaty; but was detained by the duke of Lancaster, who dispatched the earl of Northumberland to Conway with very moderate demands, which were readily granted. The earl then invited Richard to a personal conference with the duke of Lancaster, in Flint castle, to finish the negotiation; to which the king agreed, and immediately set out

King
Richard
imprisoned.¹⁷² T. Otterbourne, p. 205.

A.D. 1399. from Conway August 19, accompanied by his few remaining friends. But on the road they were surrounded by a body of armed men, and conducted to the castle of Flint as prisoners. Next day the duke of Lancaster, after a short conference (in which he said he was come to assist his cousin in the government of the kingdom), conducted the king to his head-quarters at Chester; and from thence, by easy journies, to the tower of London, where he was lodged on Tuesday September 2¹⁷³.

King Richard's resignation.

The duke of Lancaster, having the king in his power, no longer confined his pretensions to the estate of Lancaster, but publicly aspired to the crown; and employed all his art to obtain it in a manner that had a plausible appearance. When the plan was formed, it was proposed in council by the duke of York to this purpose—That the king should be made to subscribe a resignation of his crown; and that he should also be deposed by parliament, for certain crimes, that it might appear he was willing to give up his crown, and that the nation thought him unworthy of possessing it¹⁷⁴. To carry this plan into execution, a parliament was summoned in king Richard's name, to meet at Westminster September 30. On the day before the meeting of parliament, king Richard, in his chamber in the tower, before the duke of Lancaster, with the prelates and lords of his party,

¹⁷³ T. Walsing. p. 358. T. Otterbourne, p. 208. Froissart, tom. 4. ch. 110. Life of Richard by a Person of Quality, p. 199. Carte, vol. 2. p. 634, 635.

¹⁷⁴ Life of Richard II. p. 191.

subscribed the instrument of his resignation, conceived in as clear and strong terms as could be devised ¹⁷⁵. When the parliament met, this instrument was produced and read; and the members being asked, if they accepted of this resignation, answered in the affirmative ¹⁷⁶.

A.D. 1399.

It was then proposed, in order to remove all scruples and doubts, that certain articles, containing the crimes and errors of which king Richard had been guilty, and for which he deserved to be deposed, should be read; which was accordingly done. To these articles (which were thirty-five in number) was prefixed king Richard's coronation-oath; and the design of the several articles was to prove, that by such and such acts of government he had violated that oath. These articles being too long to be here inserted, it is sufficient to say, that some of them were false, some of them trifling, many of them exaggerated, and a few of them but too well founded: for it cannot be denied, that Richard had been guilty of many imprudent, and of some illegal actions ¹⁷⁷.

Articles
against
king
Richard.

Though many lords and prelates in this parliament had been loaded with benefits by king Richard, none of them had the courage or gratitude to speak a word in his defence on this occasion, except Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle ¹⁷⁸.

King
Richard
deposed.

¹⁷⁵ Life of Richard II. p. 195. Otterbourne, p. 212.

¹⁷⁶ T. Walsing. p. 359.

¹⁷⁷ Knyghton, col. 2746—2756.

¹⁷⁸ Sir John Froissart relates, that the king's favourite dog, named *Math*, forsook his master as soon as he saw him taken prisoner, and fawned upon the duke of Lancaster. *Froissart*, tom. 4. ch. 110.

A.D. 1399. That learned and undaunted prelate, in a long and eloquent speech, exposed the iniquity and danger of the present proceedings, and vindicated the character of his unhappy sovereign in many particulars, imputing the errors into which he had fallen rather to his want of experience, or to evil council, than to malice¹⁷⁹. The only answer given to this speech was, an order to the earl marshal, from the duke of Lancaster, to take the bishop into custody, and send him prisoner to the abbey of St. Alban's: a more unconstitutional and arbitrary deed than any king Richard had ever done! After this there was an end to all debate. All the articles were sustained as true; king Richard was solemnly deposed; and a committee appointed to intimate that sentence to the degraded monarch¹⁸⁰.

Accession
of Henry
IV.

The throne of England being thus declared empty, Henry duke of Lancaster (though he was not the nearest heir to the last possessor) arose from his seat, and (having with great appearance of devotion, invoked the name of Christ, and crossed himself on the breast and forehead) claimed the crown in the following remarkable words,—“*In the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster, challenge this rewme of Englonde, and the croune, with all the members, and the apurtenances, als I that am descendit be ryght lyne of the blode, cumyng fra the gude*

¹⁷⁹ Hayward's Life of Henry IV. p. 101.

¹⁸⁰ Walsing. p. 359. Otterbourne, p. 418.

“*lorde*

“lorde king Henry Thirde, and throghe that rygt A.D. 1399.
“that God of his grace hath sent me, with helpe
“of my kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; the
“whiche rewme was in poynt to be ondone for de-
“faut of governance, and undoying of the gude
“lawes¹⁸¹.” This very artful and ambiguous
 speech, which hinted at the two different titles of
 descent and conquest, was received with great ap-
 plause; and the duke's claim, though all the world
 knew it to be ill-founded, was unanimously de-
 clared by parliament to be just. Upon this, the
 archbishop of Canterbury took Henry by the right
 hand, and conducted him towards the empty
 throne; and, with the assistance of the archbishop
 of York, placed him in it, amidst the loud ac-
 clamations of the whole assembly. As soon as
 silence could be procured, the primate preached a
 very indifferent sermon (if the historian hath not
 wronged him) from 1 Samuel, ix. 17. “Behold
 * the man whom I spake to thee of: this same
 “shall reign over my people.” Sermon being
 ended, the new king apprehending that the hint at
 conquest in his former speech might give some
 offence, stood up, and made the following decla-
 ration: “Sires, I thank God, and zowe, spirituel
 “and temporel, and all the astates of the lond,
 “and do zowe to wyte, it es noght my will that no
 “man thynk that be waye of conquest I wold dis-
 “herit any man of his heritage, franchises, or other
 “ryghts that hym aght to have, no put hym out of

¹⁸¹ Knyghton, col. 2737.

“that

A.D. 1399. *“that that he has, and has had by the gude lawes
“and custumes of the rewme: except those persons
“that has ben agan the gude purpose, and the
“commune profyt of the rewme”*¹⁸².” Thus ended the important business of this memorable day (September 30, A.D. 1399), in which one king was pulled down, and another exalted to the throne of England. The fatal consequences of this revolution will appear in the first chapter of the fifth book of this work.

**Death of
Richard
II.**

Though the fate of the dethroned king doth not fall within the limits of our present period, it followed so soon after it, and is so intimately connected with it, that it can be no great impropriety to introduce it here, together with a very short character of that unhappy prince. Richard did not long survive his deposition, though the exact time and manner of his death are not certainly known¹⁸³. The most probable account is, that he was starved to death in the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, about the beginning of the year 1400¹⁸⁴.

Richard of Bourdeaux (so called from the place of his birth) was remarkably beautiful and handsome in his person, and doth not seem to have been naturally defective either in courage or understanding: for on some occasions, particularly in the dangerous insurrection of the commons, he

¹⁸² Knyghton, col. 2758, 2759.

¹⁸³ Froissart, t. 4. c. 179.

¹⁸⁴ Otterbourne, p. 229. Vita Richard. II. p. 162. Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 365.

acted

A.D. 1399.

acted with a degree of spirit and prudence superior to his years. But his education was miserably neglected, or rather he was intentionally corrupted and debauched by his three ambitious uncles, who, being desirous of retaining the management of all affairs, encouraged him to spend his time in the company of dissolute young people of both sexes, in a continued course of feasting and dissipation. By this means he contracted a taste for pomp and pleasure, and a dislike to business. The greatest foible in the character of this unhappy prince, was an excessive fondness for, and unbounded liberality to his favourites, which enraged his uncles, particularly the duke of Gloucester, and disgusted such of the nobility as did not partake of his bounty. He was an affectionate husband, a generous master, and a faithful friend; and, if he had received a proper education, might have proved a great and good king. Richard was dethroned in the 23d year of his reign, and the 34th of his age, and never had any children. If any regard had been paid to the constitution or the rights of blood, he would have been succeeded by Edmund Mortimer earl of March, descended from Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. and elder brother of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster. But in the tumult of faction which attended this revolution, that young nobleman's name and rights were hardly ever mentioned, though his father, Roger Mortimer earl of March, had been declared presumptive heir of the crown, by act of parliament, A. D. 1385¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸⁵ Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 387, 388.

A.D. 1371.

History of
Scotland.

DAVID II. king of Scotland, the son and successor of the heroic Robert Bruce, died A. D. 1371; and was succeeded by his nephew Robert Stewart¹⁸⁶. During the first years of this prince's reign, the borderers of both the British kingdoms made frequent incursions into each others countries¹⁸⁷. To put a stop to these predatory expeditions, which were very destructive, several meetings were held between commissioners appointed by both kings, who made short truces, which were ill observed¹⁸⁸. John of Gaunt, king of Castile and duke of Lancaster, being at Berwick, A. D. 1381, negotiating one of these truces, when the great insurrection of the commons (to whom he was obnoxious) broke out, he retired into Scotland, and was very hospitably entertained at Holyroodhouse, till the insurgents were dispersed¹⁸⁹. As soon as the three years truce which had been made at Berwick was expired, the war was renewed, and mutual invasions took place. Two of the invasions of Scotland by the English were very formidable; being made with powerful fleets, as well as great armies, they seemed to aim at conquest. The first of these invasions, A. D. 1384, was conducted by the duke of Lancaster, and the second, A. D. 1385, by Richard II. in person. But they both terminated, as many others had done, in the devastation of the country near the border; and these devastations were retaliated

¹⁸⁶ Fordun, t. 2. p. 380, &c. in not.¹⁸⁷ Buchan. Hist. l. 9. p. 168, &c.¹⁸⁸ Rymeri Fœd. t. 7. p. 175. 183. 206. 245. 279.¹⁸⁹ Id. *ibid.* p. 312. Buchan. p. 169.

by the Scots, assisted by some French auxiliaries¹⁹⁰. A.D. 1388.
 In one of these incursions of the Scots into England, the famous battle of Otterburn was fought, A.D. 1388, with great valour on both sides, in which Henry lord Percy, who commanded the English, was taken, and James earl of Douglas who commanded the Scots was killed¹⁹¹.

Robert II. finding himself unfit for the management of affairs, through age and bodily infirmities, constituted his second son, Robert earl of Fife, governor of the kingdom, in a parliament held at Edinburgh, A.D. 1389¹⁹². The governor, immediately after his elevation to that dignity, raised an army and made an incursion into England; but the English avoiding an engagement, he plundered some part of the open country, and then returned home. About the same time ambassadors came to the court of Scotland, from the kings of France and England, to notify a truce for three years, which had been lately concluded between these two princes, and such of their allies as acceded to it. The ambassadors applying to the governor, he referred them to the king his father, who acceded to the truce, which gave a check to the mutual depredations of the borderers for some time¹⁹³. The king died 17th April A.D. 1390, in the twentieth year of his reign, and the seventy-fourth of his age. He was remarkably tall, of a cheerful

Death, &c.
 of Robert II.

¹⁹⁰ Walsing. p. 316, 317. Fordun, t. 2. p. 401.

¹⁹¹ Id, ibid. p. 406—414.

¹⁹² Id. ibid.

¹⁹³ Rymeri Fœd. t. 7. p. 675.

A.D. 1388. and pleasant countenance, and great affability of manners ; but being of a mild pacific spirit, he had but little authority over some of his turbulent barons, who raised armies, and engaged in wars, without so much as asking his consent ¹⁹⁴.

Marriages
of Ro-
bert II.

Robert II. when he was very young, married Elizabeth More, daughter of sir Adam More, with whom he was within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity or affinity, and on that account their marriage was for some time esteemed unlawful, because it had been celebrated without a papal dispensation. But that dispensation was obtained A. D. 1349, by which the legality of the marriage was completed ¹⁹⁵. By this lady, who died long before his accession, he had three sons, John earl of Carrick, Robert earl of Fife, and Alexander earl of Buchan. After the death of Elizabeth, he married the lady Euphemia, daughter of Hugh earl of Ross, by whom he had two sons, Walter earl of Athol, and David earl of Strathern. The mistakes of many of our historians concerning the marriages of this prince, are fully detected in the dissertation quoted below, and the legitimacy of his five sons clearly established ¹⁹⁶.

Robert III. Robert II. was succeeded by his eldest son John, who was crowned at Scone, August 13, and immediately after, by the advice of his parliament, assumed the name of Robert III ¹⁹⁷. This prince,

¹⁹⁴ Fordun, t. 2 p. 383.

¹⁹⁵ Id. ibid. l. 11. c. 13. p. 150.

¹⁹⁶ See *De nuptiis Roberti Semscalli Scotie atque Elizabethæ More dissertation*, printed at the end of the second volume of the Edinburgh edition of Fordun.

¹⁹⁷ Fordun, t. 2. p. 418.

before